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An American Typographic Tragedy—
the Imprints of Frederick Conrad Bursch

Part I. Through The Literary Collector Periods

By THOMAS A. LARREMORE

"How cold are thy baths, Apollo!"

Cried the Poet, unbeknown, unbefriended
As the vision that led him to follow
With the mist and the darkness blended.
And the dream of his life was ended.

"How cold are thy baths, Apollo!"

Longfellow, *Jugurtha*.

STRANGE sentiments to start the story of an art printer and book designer. Yet if we substitute for "Poet" the term "artist" and concede that a printer-designer can be an artist,¹ it follows logically that such a man may become blood brother, in frustration, to the luckless "Poet" and the hapless

¹ The controversy as to whether a printer can be an "artist" has been discussed already by the author. Thomas A. Larremore and Amy Hopkins Larremore, *The Marion Press, A Survey and a Check-List With Incidental Alarums, and Excursions Into Collateral Fields* (Jamaica, New York, The Queens Borough Public Library, MCMXLIII), pp. 66-67. The late Hon. Frank E. Hopkins voiced the complaint of the printers thus, "Withholding the honorary degree of art-ist, they invent for him the derogatory appellation of art-isan. Let us hope that in a better world he will come into his own." *The Marionette* (Jamaica, Queensborough New-York, The Marion Press, January, 1909), Number 4, p. [7].

"African monarch, the splendid." And just such blood brother did become, in fact, the printer-designer who, together with his books, forms the subject of this essay.

His name, given in the title, means little to most bibliophiles. Yet he is one of those "interesting 'Forgotten Men' of American typography"² gradually being rediscovered by persons "fed up" with fads, wary of cults, and independent enough to venture off the currently conventional beaten track. Unfortunately, relatively little can be found out about him, due to an accumulation of adverse circumstances. His works were the two series of imprints turned out at his two Connecticut presses, The Literary Collector Press (Greenwich, 1903-1906), and Hillacre Bookhouse (Riverside, Greenwich, 1909-1919). These institutions, too, have been generally overlooked. Professor Will Ransom, leading American authority on private and quasi-private presses, had never heard of either until the writer called them to his attention. Nor had Frederick B. Adams, Jr., similar expert on radical literature in America, although Hillacre put out considerable material which was quite radical for the period, and although Mr. Adams was actually living (as a boy) in Greenwich during a part of the time that the printer was working there.

There are reasons why man, presses and books remain relatively unknown: lack of convenient conduits to publicity; indifference or failure to capitalize on such as existed; too much preoccupation with the artist's desire to create, to the neglect of the financial affairs of his unendowed institutions—finally ruinous; recurrent periods of grinding, harassing, pecuniary worry. Over all this hung imminently an intrinsic mental condition, perhaps unsuspected at first, yet leading ultimately to three crack-ups. The first two ended his two printing houses; the last sent him, years ago, into permanent retreat, where he still remains—"with the mist and the darkness blended and the dream of his life" thus ended. His wife and most of his friends are dead or scattered.

² Larremore, *The Marion Press*, p. 90.

Certain relatives were estranged long ago by bitter and unfortunate family litigation. Records, journals, correspondence of his Presses, and even many of his imprints, were destroyed or thrown away ruthlessly after the collapse of Hillacre.

So far as is known, no attempt has been made hitherto to publicize his work. No exhibition of it has been held, although, thanks largely to the efforts of the Reverend Vincent Daniels, one is now scheduled for June 6-12, 1949, at the Greenwich Library, under auspices of the Historical Society of Greenwich, to be set up by the writer hereof.

EARLY LIFE OF MR. BURSCH

As stated, this printer-designer remains much of a mystery man, in some respects elusive as Johnny Appleseed, shadowy as The Scholar Gypsy. Relatively few personal details can be established about him. He was born in 1874,³ probably in Brooklyn, the son, certainly, of a wealthy German-American salt merchant and his wife. Of his boyhood and pre-college days nothing is known. Nor of his home environment, although the writer suspects this became constantly more uncongenial as the boy grew up. The sole surviving relative able to recall those days at first hand has declined, categorically, to answer inquiries of any kind,⁴ claiming that these concern matters which brought much care and grief, and are best forgotten, apparently having in mind the family litigation mentioned.

Fred Bursch turned up, in written record for the first time discovered, in 1891, as a student at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, where he was enrolled in Civil Engineering. He lasted there just one semester; why no longer is unknown. The University Registrar, answering an inquiry in 1947,⁵ added the following,

³ According to Robert W. Dennis, adopted son of Mr. and Mrs. Bursch, who retained his own name. Postal, dated September 13, 1948.

⁴ Letter dated April 19, 1947. The relative's name is withheld.

⁵ Letter dated March 27, 1947, from E. F. Bradford, Registrar, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

I can discern no connection between his program of studies here and his later interest in bibliography and printing.

Nor can anybody else. Judged retrospectively, the artistic, sensitive Bursch, cast as an engineer, might well have posed as the original model for the famous figure—"a square peg in a round hole."

THE PRATT INSTITUTE PERIOD

Next he appeared at the Library School of Pratt Institute, in Brooklyn, whence a brother had graduated in 1892.⁶ Records of the Institute, left from those days, are fragmentary. None exists as to antecedents—familial, educational or otherwise—of the students admitted. But we know that Fred graduated from the Library School in 1897. He is remembered by a classmate as "much interested in art and letters, quite sophisticated [with a] witty sense of humor," and this person also "associates him with Stevensoniana."⁷ According to other recollections of fellow-students, a real book-stack-and-card-index romance was brewing at Pratt during the college year, 1896-1897. Bursch is said to have been "the one man in a class of women, two of whom were completely devoted to him"—even though leap year had ended long before Commencement. Among those graduating with Fred was a Miss Ann Dennis, the two being remembered, together, as "a gay couple with many interests in common."⁷ The Institute's grade-records show that Ann's overall marks were comfortably higher than his. But the gentleman ultimately took complete and crowning revenge. He married the lady! Mrs. Bursch, herself dead some years, is still remembered around Greenwich as very active in civic betterment. She could turn out a skilful job as a pamphleteer.⁸ And her one known surviving letter discussing the

⁶ Letter dated January 3, 1947, from Dean Wayne Shirley, The Library School, Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.

⁷ Letters dated June 14, 23, and 25, 1948. The names of the classmates are withheld.

⁸ See her pamphlet, *The Public Health System of the State of Connecticut* (Greenwich, Connecticut, The School of Politics of the Progressive Club, 1914). There is

Presses, written to the late John Reed after the *débâcle* at Hillacre,⁹ exhibits sympathetic loyalty to her stricken husband blended with well-tempered intelligence, and a genuine if mordant literary flair. Obviously Fred profited both professionally and personally from his period at Pratt.

Bursch must have made, also, at the Institute, an aesthetic contact which undoubtedly influenced deeply his typographic taste if it did not actually awaken his interest in fine printing. Judged by present standards, library schools of that period seem relatively rudimentary. For instance, Pratt, at the time, apparently admitted all comers without examination or other prerequisites; offered a narrow and required curriculum without electives; and demanded only a year's attendance before graduation. But that very year the Institute began raising its standards by adding "A second-year course . . . to deal with Library Science and Bibliography" open, apparently, only to graduates, after special entrance examinations. Among the new courses thus scheduled were lectures on Engraving and Early Reproductive Processes; on Binders and Binding; and on Books and Printing. The last-named lectures were to be given by Theodore L. De Vinne, head of the famous De Vinne Press, and Frank E. Hopkins,¹⁰ the latter then De Vinne's fine-book designer and just launching his own Marion Press in his own attic.¹¹ There is plenty of evidence to show that De Vinne and Hopkins gave those lectures at Pratt that year. One tart confirmation appears in the following passage

a copy in The New York Public Library. This was apparently not printed by either of Mr. Bursch's Presses, judging by its typography.

⁹ See the letter dated March 6, 1919, Ann Dennis Bursch to Jack [John Reed, the pioneer American Communist], on Hillacre Bookhouse letterhead. The original letter is in the John Reed Collection at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

¹⁰ See four-page folder, *School of Library Training, Pratt Institute, Second-year Course, 1896-1897, Brooklyn, N. Y.*

¹¹ The Marion Press, dedicated formally November 2, 1896, was then located in the attic of Hon. Frank E. Hopkins' house, Jamaica, N. Y. It moved in 1898 to a new shop, built in Mr. Hopkins' back yard. Larremore, *The Marion Press*, pp. 21, 33, 77-84.

of a letter, dated November 17, 1896, to Hopkins from the late Frank L. Babbott,

I am pleased to say that I am told that Mr. Hopkins was more interesting than Mr. De Vinne in the Pratt Institute Course.

According to one source, "Some of the lectures were apparently given at the Marion Press and some of them here at the School,"¹² although this may well refer to Hopkins' repetition of the lectures in later years, since in 1896 the Marion Press had just begun and at the time was not yet housed in its own separate shop.¹¹

The relevance of all this to the subject matter depends on whether Fred Bursch attended these lectures or not. The instructors' grade-sheets of the time have long been destroyed. The grades retained by the Institute for students of the period confine the marks to overall averages only. So we are thrown back upon "the next best evidence." Letters from Fred's classmates disagree as to whether he sat in or not. He was not yet a graduate and the course was planned, as stated, as part of the second year curriculum to be open to graduates only.¹³ On the other hand, Miss Mary W. Plummer, then the Librarian at Pratt, wrote Mr. Hopkins, October 5, 1896, partly as follows,

We shall admit *both classes* of the Library School to the lectures, making an audience of about twenty-five,—of students alone [Writer's italics].

May we expect you next Friday at 3 o'clock for the first lecture of the series?

Furthermore, the Library Report for 1896-1897 contains this statement,

The Friday afternoon lectures of Mr. Frank E. Hopkins *have been attended by both classes* and have excited a great deal of interest. They were clear, practical, well illustrated and entertaining [writer's italics].¹⁴

¹² Josephine Adams Rathbone, quoted in letter dated July 19, 1948, from Mrs. Virginia Clift, Secretary, Library School, Pratt Institute. See also Larremore, *The Marion Press*, p. 39.

¹³ See folder cited in footnote 10.

¹⁴ Letter dated June 8, 1948, from Charles Pratt, President, Pratt Institute, quoting the Library Report covering the school year 1896-1897.

It is the belief of the author, and of Dean Wayne Shirley, present head of the Library School, that Fred Bursch attended these lectures.

Strong support of this belief is found in a comparison of Bursch's early typographic style with those of De Vinne, Hopkins, and Walter Gilliss (of the Gilliss Press). These men, with Carl P. Rollins perhaps added, constitute America's chief exponents of the typographical school summed up most conveniently as that of "Plain Printing Types," to borrow the most appropriate name of one of Mr. De Vinne's own books. The chief characteristics of that school were plain printing from types not at all florid; little decoration, with color (usually red) used sparingly; particular stress on superfine composition and presswork; and, finally, as Joseph W. Rogers has summed it up, no "attempting to prettify a page rather than to depend upon the dignity and intrinsic beauty of type itself properly spaced, leaded and printed."¹⁵ Bursch's books, until he began to emphasize color itself as an independent typographic value, were definitely in the style just mentioned, even though he did use, other than Caslon, few of the type faces employed by De Vinne and Hopkins.

Finally, Bursch's typographic philosophy, at least during the Literary Collector period, paralleled Hopkins'. Each man reduced this philosophy to writing, at least once, for the benefit of prospective patrons of his Press, and in language indeed very similar. Bursch wrote,

By fine printing we mean well-composed pages of unbroken type; make-up and format of unimpeachable taste; press-work of even color; exact register and perfect impression; and last, the choice of such paper, illustrations, decoration and rubrication as best suit the style of the work and go to making up a finely printed book.

We do not by any means disparage the use of colors and decorations but we emphasize the fact that they do not take the place of excellence in typography

¹⁵ Larremore, *The Marion Press*, p. 128. Mr. Rogers, now a staff member of the Copyright Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., designed and edited the book just cited, and prepared its Check-List.

and press-work. The Literary Collector follows no fads but aims at perfection in taste and execution.¹⁶

Hopkins said about the same thing, in briefer compass,

Meaningless ornamentation, tricks of typography, and eccentricities are not to our taste. Orders for all kinds of good plain printing, from new types of conservative design, and with the utmost care for accuracy and finish are welcomed.¹⁷

To sum up, there seems sufficient strong evidence, until something specific appears to the contrary, to justify the assumption that Bursch attended those lectures by De Vinne and Hopkins, and that, while a student at Pratt, although he apparently was not printing at the time, he began to form his typographic taste under the influence of the lectures given by these two eminent printers.

There remains one further matter turned up at Pratt to be considered. But as that deals with Bursch in transition from his student days to the next period of his life it falls more logically into the next section of this paper.

THE LITERARY COLLECTOR MAGAZINE

Bursch's record card at Pratt, besides giving his overall average grades, contains the following statement, all there is on file about him at his Alma Mater after his graduation. Unfortunately left unpunctuated, its middle lines present a patent ambiguity for resolution. It reads,¹⁸

S.'97 - Ja. '00 — 1st Ass't, Y.M.C.A.Lib., N.Y.

Dec. 1900 — Position with John Anderson

Editor Literary Collector

1902 — President, Literary Collector Press

¹⁶ From *The Literary Collector Advertiser*, p. vii, in *The Literary Collector Magazine* (Greenwich, Connecticut, and New York, New York, 1904), Vol. IX (November-December, 1904). Repeated in subsequent issues for January-February, March, and August, 1905.

¹⁷ Frank E. Hopkins, *A List of Books Printed At The Marion Press Jamaica Queensborough New-York 1896-1906* ([Jamaica, New York, The Marion Press, 1906]), p. 6.

¹⁸ Letters dated January 7, 1947, and December 14, 1948, from Dean Wayne Shirley, Pratt Institute.

The first line causes no trouble. It shows that from September following Bursch's graduation down to January, 1900, he was practicing his new profession—a statement partly confirmed by his listing in the Brooklyn city directory for 1897 and 1898 as "Librarian." Incidentally, Ann Dennis' card at the Institute shows that from May, 1897, to April, 1901, she was an Assistant at the Y.W.C.A. Library in New York—and drawing the magnificent annual salary of \$600!

But lack of punctuation in the middle two lines renders them ambiguous. Read one way, they can mean that Fred, in December, 1900, took a position with John Anderson who was then Editor of *The Literary Collector Magazine*. But this seems contrary to fact. Anderson was the founder of the well-known auction house still vigorous as The Parke-Bernet Galleries. Oscar Wegelin has told the writer that Anderson never had any connection with the Magazine. Moreover, Mr. Wegelin (who knew Bursch even then, and who worked for Anderson until December 31, 1900) added that Fred was not at Anderson's on that date, went to work there early in 1901, and remained only a few months—leaving after some dispute. Ann Dennis' record card at Pratt shows that by, or in, April, 1901, she had married Bursch and was Assistant Editor for the Magazine. But in June, 1901, Bursch, himself, was listed as Editor in the journal's masthead.¹⁹ How the connection of either with the publication was made is not known.

Just what was *The Literary Collector Magazine*? It made its bow in October, 1901, as "A Monthly Magazine Devoted to the Interest of Collectors," chiefly of books and autographs, although it ran occasional paragraphs for philatelists. Its founder and first proprietor was that eminent rare-book dealer, the late George D. Smith. The first editor (whose name never appeared as such in the journal) was the late A. J. Bowden, an Englishman, described by Charles F. Heartman as one of Smith's "early partners . . . a

¹⁹ *The Literary Collector Magazine*, II: ii (June, 1901).

brilliant cataloguer and great salesman."²⁰ Mr. Wegelin credits Bowden with an encyclopedic knowledge about books much greater than Smith's.

As Editor, Bowden was fearless and outspoken, yet brutal. Mr. Heartman points to a blistering review, damning as "absolutely worthless" a bibliography of *The Compleat Angler*, "published sumptuously by Scribner's" and adds, correctly, "It took courage to attack a famous house like Scribner's in this manner."²¹ Caustic comment on a poem by Grace Denio Litchfield consumed just one line, "The sun 'stepped down' and Grace slobbered over."²² *The Collector's* early axe seems to have been whetted especially for *The Bookman*, and its Editor, Harry Thurston Peck. A certain "Literary Note" read as follows,

A very dreadful person who purchased a copy of *The Bookman* at a railroad station recently said to us "The publishers ought to re-christen it *The Slob*." Now we don't like slang, but sometimes slang is so delightfully expressive of the feelings that it must be used. Why not amalgamate with *The Book-buyer*, Mr. Bookman and use the name in the plural?²³

Another blast read thus,

The Bookman, it is announced, has received a gold medal at the Paris Exposition. Was it for the Editor's versatility in writing the two reviews of *David Harum* diametrically opposed one to the other? We can imagine no other reason why a gold medal should be given to this namby-pamby, wishy-washy and log-rolling sheet. As the colored gentleman said, it gives one "a misery in the back."²⁴

On occasion the critic could sing sweetly enough, and even praise with but faint damning or with whole-hearted enthusiasm.²⁵ But such frequent ebullitions, skirting so closely the thin,

²⁰ Charles F. Heartman, *George D. Smith G.D.S. 1870-1920* (Beauvoir Community, Mississippi, The Book Farm), p. 6.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8. The review is to be found in *The Literary Collector Magazine*, I: 32 (November, 1900).

²² *The Literary Collector Magazine*, I: 15 (February, 1901).

²³ *Ibid.*, I: 10 (October, 1900).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I: 4-5 (November, 1900); see also *Ibid.*, I: 10 (October, 1900).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I: 14 (February, 1901), regarding the catalogue put out by the Marion Press for the first sale of William Harris Arnold; and *Ibid.*, I: 34 (November, 1900), concerning William Loring Andrews' *Gossip About Book Collecting*.

icy edge of libel, must have sent Smith to bed more than once to dream of probable lawsuits, or even horsewhippings, one of the convenient, extra-legal remedies for the offense condoned by the contemporary *Zeitgeist*. Perhaps that was why Bursch was called in. At any rate, when he took over as Editor, such verbal vitriol ceased to flow.

Mr. Heartman wrote, "The whole magazine makes nostalgic reading today. It was fresh . . . and lively . . . and can only be compared to *The American Book Collector* of a later period."²⁶ Praise from Sir Hubert indeed, since the last-named periodical was Mr. Heartman's own brain-child.

The Literary Collector Magazine deserves a special article itself. But we can discuss here only one more episode—that for which the Magazine probably remains best remembered today. That was its prediction, *thirty-three years in advance*, of the correct character of the forged items turned out by the late Thomas J. Wise *et al.*²⁷ The story is told well by Mr. Heartman²⁸ and is reiterated in Miss Fannie E. Ratchford's recent re-survey of the forgeries.²⁹ The relevant part of the *Literary Collector* editorial reads,

. . . Does the reader remember a period about two years ago when "rare" privately printed little pamphlets by Tennyson and Swinburne were being "boomed"? At least one inexperienced collector in New York was misled by a perfectly reputable firm into buying thousands of dollars' worth of these things. The firm had taken the word of the London shark for gospel and themselves paid high prices. What was the result when a market was found to exist? Such items as "The Window," "Laus Veneris," "Gold Hair," and a dozen other small books of that ilk, cropped up with distressing frequency. Now they are selling at about one third of their record prices.

It is significant that all these high-priced and "rare" privately printed items

²⁶ Heartman, *George D. Smith*, p. 8.

²⁷ John Carter and Graham Pollard, *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets* (London, Constable [1934]). Wilfred Partington, *Forging Ahead* (New York, Putnam [1939]). Fannie E. Ratchford, Editress, *Letters of Thomas J. Wise to John Henry Wrenn. A Further Inquiry Into The Guilt of Certain Nineteenth-Century Forgers* (New York, A. A. Knopf, 1944).

²⁸ Heartman, *George D. Smith*, pp. 8-9.

²⁹ Ratchford, *A Further Inquiry*, pp. 45, 208n.

are of the pamphlet variety and of modern date—few being over 20 pp. and of an earlier date than 1865. *They are easy of fabrication and we believe they have been fabricated*³⁰ [writer's italics].

This editorial is anonymous. Miss Ratchford is inclined to credit it to Smith.³¹ Mr. Wegelin, however, states flatly that Bowden wrote it and Mr. Heartman concurs.³² Certainly it "packs the wallop" of Bowden's literary style and reflects an intimate knowledge of English books. Bursch can hardly have had a hand in it. Either he had not yet joined the staff or he had come so recently as hardly yet to be entrusted to detonate so much dynamite.

THE LITERARY COLLECTOR COMPANY

As stated, Bursch bowed in as Editor in June, 1901. With the first number of Volume 3, the issue for October, 1901, Smith bowed out, as proprietor and publisher. Mr. Heartman says, about the change, "After the second volume, a separate company was formed to continue the magazine, *but the Smith influence was predominant*"³³ [writer's italics]. With the underscored portion of this statement both Mr. Wegelin and the writer disagree categorically. Bursch and Smith had severed connections with each other, being no longer even in the same building.³⁴ Smith continued to advertise in the journal and there are one or two contributions which seem to have come from him. He may have been consulted about it from time to time. And he had Walt Whitman's *Lafayette in Brooklyn* printed at the Press in 1905. But the enterprise was now Bursch's in character as well as in fact. Ostensibly it was owned by The Literary Collector Company, unincorporated, and either a trade name for Bursch himself, or an

³⁰ *The Literary Collector Magazine*, I: 1-2 (March, 1901).

³¹ Ratchford, *A Further Inquiry*, p. 208n.

³² Heartman, *George D. Smith*, pp. 8-9.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³⁴ The first issue of *The Literary Collector Magazine* after Smith sold out shows his office still at 4 East 42d St., New York, whereas the office of the new Company was 33 West 42d St. III: iv (October, 1901), and outside front cover.

undisclosed, commercial partnership, perhaps between him and his wife—who remained as Assistant Editor. Bursch kept the Editorship to the end and always remained the “front.” The first announcement of the new company⁸⁵ declared its intention “to build up a periodical worthy of the field in which it stands alone”; announced articles forthcoming from men like Alfred W. Pollard (including a monthly “London Bibliographical Letter” from him), Charles Dexter Allen, William Carew Hazlitt, Theodore L. De Vinne, and Henri Pène du Bois; pledged continuation of serialized essays by Fletcher Battershall and Adrian H. Joline; and promised to the readers, each month, a “Collector’s Guide to the Magazines,” “Current Book Prices,” and a page of “Query and Comment.” The subscription price, up to then only \$1.00 a year, was raised to \$1.50.

Bursch’s most important improvement, perhaps, was a complete change of format. Interesting the journal always had been. Typographically it was an eyesore. The new proprietor enlarged the size of the pages to what he called “standard magazine size.”⁸⁶ He also increased substantially the quantity of reading matter, and adopted a new, attractive cover design, by Homer W. Colby, part of which was used subsequently as a pressmark or device. Before the Magazine stopped (with the issue for September, 1905), the format was changed twice more, each time for the better. The last variant, a return to the original size, with a single, cross-page line instead of two columns, was justified as “giving opportunity for a more tasteful typographic setting.”⁸⁷ In this final form the little periodical became a thing of sheer typographic beauty. Bursch retained the same type faces used in the days of Smith, with main reliance still on the so-called Self Spacing Old Style (of which more later) but he used a larger point-size, in interest of easier reading. The Mills Printing Company

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. [i]-ii.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. ii.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, IX: i (November-December, 1904).

continued to print the journal until the establishment of The Literary Collector Press, so far as is currently known.

Smith and Bowden evidently started the Magazine as adjunct to and possible feeder of their book business, keeping the initial subscription price, as already stated, as low as \$1.00 per year. For his subscribers Smith had printed, for gratuitous distribution, folders giving complete listing of prices paid for books and buyers' names, at the *first* sale of William Harris Arnold (January 30-31, 1901) and at the Frederick W. French sale (April 23-25, 1901).

A similar list for the *second* Arnold sale (May 7-8, 1901) also appeared. This was announced in the Magazine before Bursch took over as proprietor, but was published by The Literary Collector *Company* and bore, as a device (so used, apparently, for the first time) the same vignette used on the Magazine cover initially with Bursch's first issue thereof. Incidentally, these Arnold sale lists are not to be confused with the two *official* books of *Records*, elaborately printed at The Marion Press. Later the Company put out a fourth list, covering the sale of Marshall C. Leferts (April, 1902). In that year the Company also published a photogravure reproduction of *The Book Worm*, a painting by Edouard Grützner, in the Munich Gallery.

But the Company's most interesting publication, incidentally *not* printed by the Literary Collector Press, was a special edition of *The Pleasures of Literature and The Solace of Books*, compiled by Joseph Shaylor (also spelled Shaler). This was at least the third American edition. The first appeared about 1898, published by Truslove and Comba, New York (and apparently concurrently in England). Wilbur B. Ketcham brought out the second edition, enlarged and completely reprinted, of 250 copies (at least some on Japanese paper) in November, 1899. Later a fourth edition was put out by Barse & Hopkins. Save for covers, title-pages, the colophon in Ketcham's edition, and the omission of the frontispiece from the edition of Barse & Hopkins, the contents of sec-

ond, third, and fourth editions are identical, even to typographic defects. They were either printed at different times from the identical lock-ups, or plates, or else the third and fourth editions were, in fact, oversheets or remainders of Ketcham's printing. The latter alternative seems more probable. For Bursch, in announcing the publication of his edition, in the *Magazine* for May-June, 1902, said,

This volume was published at \$1.25. The edition fell into our hands by a stroke of fortune and we are offering it to Annual Subscribers to *The Literary Collector* at fifty cents a copy.³⁸

Tastefully bound in green satin, with the device already mentioned and the title stamped in gold on side and back, the book, for fifty cents, was nothing but a "steal" even in those uninflated days. Bursch thus got away to a good early start in financial mismanagement.

THE LITERARY COLLECTOR PRESS

There are many factual *lacunae* in the history of Bursch, his Presses and his imprints that we would like to be able to fill. Some have already been mentioned. Now another arises. Why, at this point in his career, did he turn from magazine publishing to designing, producing and, at times, even publishing fine book imprints? So far the answer has not appeared.

The first hint of impending change occurred in the *Magazine* for May-June, 1902,³⁹ when the address of the Company became "Greenwich, Conn., and 33 West Forty-Second Street, New York, N. Y.," instead of the latter alone, as theretofore. Official announcement of a new and expanded policy of the Company was made in the issue for September, 1902, in these words,

The Literary Collector will from this number be issued from The Literary Collector Press, which we have established at Greenwich, Conn. We intend using

³⁸ *Ibid.*, IV (May-June, 1902) inside front cover. Repeated later.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, inside front cover.

the new Press primarily for the magazine itself. We have also in mind the publication of an occasional unpretentious volume for the bibliophile.⁴⁰

The journal, however, was still published by the *Company*. The first number copyrighted by the *Press* was that for March, 1903.⁴¹ The new venture was incorporated in New York State, May 11, 1903, as *The Literary Collector Press*,⁴² but never in Connecticut.⁴³ Although activities ceased in 1906 or 1907 the legal entity lived on until formally dissolved by New York, March 13, 1926,⁴⁴ quite possibly for non-payment of franchise tax.

The new plant was housed first on Elm Street, Greenwich, and later moved to the Jaynes Building, on Railroad Avenue. A professional compositor and pressman, Mr. William L. Sniffen, Sr., to whom is due largely the excellence of *Literary Collector* books in these respects, became chief assistant. Mr. Bursch did not set type or run presses himself. He was a printer only in the dual sense of both owning and running a printing house and, *à la* Bruce Rogers, designing its imprints and "seeing them through the press."⁴⁵ Just what equipment was on hand at the time remains conjectural, save that the type faces used can be identified, of which more later.

The issue of the Magazine for February, 1903, contained the following, announcing the contemplated increase of activities,

Since the January issue of *The Literary Collector*, we have moved into larger and permanent quarters, and have installed a large press, and power plant. . . .

In anticipation of turning out better work with bettered facilities, the two

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, IV (September, 1902), inside front cover.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, V (March, 1903), inside front cover.

⁴² Letter, dated June 17, 1947, from Edward D. Harper, Deputy Secretary of State, State of New York.

⁴³ Letter, dated May 26, 1948, from Frederic S. Hoffer, Jr., Corporation Examiner, State of Connecticut.

⁴⁴ Same letter mentioned in footnote 42.

⁴⁵ In stating his typographic philosophy for the benefit of prospective patrons, Mr. Bursch added to the extract quoted in the text, and cited in footnote 16, the following, "Mr. Frederic C. Bursch plans and personally sees through the press every book that we print." *The Literary Collector Advertiser* in the Magazine, IX: vii (November-December, 1904). See also, Larremore, *The Marion Press*, p. 81.

books we have already announced—*A Collector's Portrait* and *Bookbinding for Bibliophiles*—have been postponed. They will soon be issued from the new press.⁴⁶

A brief discussion and résumé of the books printed at this Press seem now in order. While the two books just mentioned had been announced, in the issue for September, 1902, respectively as "the first book" and "probably . . . our second book,"⁴⁷ and while the former is described, categorically, in the *Greenwich News*, as "the first book printed at the Press,"⁴⁸ things did not work out just that way. *Bookbinding for Bibliophiles*, long postponed, did not appear until 1905. And it is impossible to tell, to-day, whether *A Collector's Portrait* did come out first or whether that distinction must go to Thomas R. Slicer's work, *Percy Bysshe Shelley, An Appreciation*, done for Charles P. Everitt. Both were finally announced as ready, concurrently, in the Magazine for January, 1904. Mr. Everitt wrote the author as follows, December 10, 1948,

Tough going—trying to remember details of 45 years ago. As I remember, *Shelley* was sent out in October, 1903. My guess is that Judicis [*A Collector's Portrait*] was the first book actually issued by Bursch as his own publication and the *Shelley* was his first book printed as a commercial item. I paid for this latter and still think that it came out some four months before Judicis.

The reprint of Poe's *Tamerlane and Other Poems*, in a 37-copy edition for Mr. Frank Maier, provides one of the most colorful episodes of Bursch's printing. This was done, according to the colophon, "to celebrate the launching of the yawl, TAMERLANE, June 3, 1905." According to Oscar Wegelin this is the first American reprint of Poe's fabulous rarity, although it is *not*, as misstated by Kenneth Rede and Charles F. Heartman, a facsimile,

⁴⁶ *The Literary Collector Magazine*, V (February, 1903), inside front cover. *A Collector's Portrait* was announced, first, in the issue for September, 1902, inside the front cover, to be ready early in December of that year. *Bookbinding for Bibliophiles* was also first announced at the same time.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, IV (September, 1902), inside front cover.

⁴⁸ April 6, 1906.

save for original title page and cover.⁴⁹ Incidentally, perhaps stimulated by the reprint, the Magazine for July, 1905, contained an interesting story, by Arnold Lethwidge, of the first-edition copies of *Tamerlane* found down to that date.⁵⁰

Maier, a colorful character, who apparently ran a strange gamut of ups and downs, was an enthusiastic collector of American literature at a time when relatively few were interested in that field, and a salt-water yachtsman as well, holding memberships in at least four yacht clubs.⁵¹ His two hobbies fused in the names he gave his boats, all yawls—*Fanshaw*, *Tamerlane*, and *Hyperion*. His collection of *First Editions of American Authors*, completely forgotten today, contained an amazing number of mouth-watering collectors' tantalizers. Among these were Poe's *Murders in the Rue Morgue*, *Raven* and *Al Aaraaf*. But *Tamerlane* eluded him. What seems to have happened is that he decided to have at least the first American reprint, as the next best substitute, in an edition almost as limited as the first edition itself. Listed as a "broker" in the contemporary *Lloyd's Register of American Yachts*,⁵² and a resident of New Rochelle, a rumor has it that the yachtsman-collector became financially embarrassed and had to sell his library. Whatever the reason, the remarkable collection went under the hammer at Anderson's on November 16-17, 1909, and, despite the great rarities it included, grossed only the sum of \$5800.00.⁵³ The *Registers* show that Maier's yachts lasted longer than his books, for, while he sold *Tamerlane* after about a year, he retained *Hyperion* until 1911, after which his name disappeared.

⁴⁹ Kenneth Rede and Charles F. Heartman, *A Census of First Editions . . . by or relating to Edgar Allan Poe . . .*, in: *The American Book Collector* (Metuchen, New Jersey, The American Book Collector [1932]), I: 45, January, 1932.

⁵⁰ *Tamerlane*—Poe's *First Book*. *The Literary Collector Magazine*, X: 21-25 (July, 1905), with frontispiece showing facsimile of original covers.

⁵¹ Brooklyn, Canarsie, Jamaica Bay, and New Rochelle. At the time of the *Tamerlane* reprint Mr. Maier resided in New Rochelle, New York.

⁵² Issues for 1903-1904 through 1911.

⁵³ According to *The New York Daily Tribune*, November 18, 1909, p. 7.

By far the most ambitious books printed at The Literary Collector Press were Luke Vincent Lockwood's *The Pendleton Collection* of eighteenth-century furniture and pottery and Kate Sanborn's *Old Time Wall Papers*.

Mr. Lockwood's *chef-d'oeuvre* was done for The Rhode Island School of Design. According to Mrs. Lockwood,

150 copies were handsomely bound in full leather—some in green and some in red. The entire expense of printing and binding was the gift of the late Mr. Stephen Metcalf of Providence, then the President of the . . . School. . . . My husband thinks that the binding was done by a man named Adams [believed to be Ralph Randolph Adams] who was recommended by Mr. Bursch. No copies were sold unbound—a few were given away.⁵⁴

Nevertheless the School advised the writer, in 1947,⁵⁵ that

We have on hand unbound catalogues of the "Pendleton Collection," written by Luke Vincent Lockwood. These sell for \$50.00 apiece.

and added that all bound copies had long since been sold. According to the *Greenwich News*, of April 6, 1906, this large and handsomely illustrated volume, printed on Japanese vellum, sold originally "at one hundred and fifty dollars a copy." One wonders, however, how much all this helped the impractical press-proprietor.

The Sanborn book, for years the leading and even the only authority in its field, was "illustrated with about 100 reproductions [some in color], photographs of Colonial interiors, showing the gorgeous *scenic papers* with which our Colonial ancestors decorated their best rooms."⁵⁶ And it gave rise to one amusing advertisement, run in several successive numbers of the Magazine, and reading, in part, thus:

⁵⁴ Letter, dated May 21, 1948. The bindery of Ralph Randolph Adams advertised frequently in Bursch's magazine. In 1904 Bursch printed a book by Arnold Lethwidge about Adams' bindings. See check list.

⁵⁵ Letter, dated April 2, 1947, from Laurie Eglington Kaldis, Director of Public Relations, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island.

⁵⁶ *The Literary Collector Advertiser*, in the Magazine, IX: xi (January-February, 1905). Repeated in several later issues.

INFORMATION WANTED Concerning the present whereabouts of Captain Cook and his Cannibal Captors.—When last seen, the cannibals were crunching the Captain's bones, before a fire over which his companions were being grilled. This and many other happenings of Captain Cook's career were portrayed in medallions surrounded with garlands, on a wall-paper covering the "best room" of an eighteenth-century homestead on Long Island. They have been ruthlessly scraped from the walls within the past year, and so far as is known, no photographs of the paper were ever taken. It is hoped by this appeal to the public to find some other house in which this same old paper still survives, or to learn of some photograph. . . .⁵⁷

But neither the cooked Captain nor his captivating masticators turned up, although the learned authoress subsequently reported having seen "some chintz of the same pattern."⁵⁸ And Miss Sanborn, after re-locating the vandalized house as "near Hoosic Falls, New York," wrote off the episode to (paper) profit and loss by remarking,

Think of a nervous invalid being obliged to gaze, day after day, upon the savages gnawing human joints and gluttonizing on a fat sirloin!⁵⁹

Incidentally, one observes here, again, Bursch's inimitable ability to do things the expensive way—by devoting a full page advertisement, probably gratuitously, for several months, to the fruitless search. Apparently the book was published by the Press. Again one bewails the destruction of the records and journals, for one would like to know whether the work paid or not, especially in view of the high prices which even the plate-paper copies command today.

Space considerations forbid more than passing mention of other Literary Collector books. They fall into two classes. One comprises items done for customers and hence for pay, potboilers in a sense, although none turned out, typographically, to be a mere

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. v. Also repeated in later issues.

⁵⁸ Kate Sanborn, *Old Time Wall Papers. An Account of the Pictorial Papers on Our Forefathers' Walls with a Study of the Historical Development of Wall Paper Making and Decoration*. (Greenwich Connecticut New York [sic]. The Literary Collector Press, 1905), p. 92.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

"*polnische Wirtschaft*." Into this class fall the three books just discussed; Slicer's *Shelley*; Oscar Wegelin's well-known bibliographies; *The Book Collector*, by Adrian H. Joline (reprinted, in part, from the magazine); General Rush C. Hawkins' *Corlears Hook in 1820*; Mary Sherrerd Clark's *In the Olden Days*; and two volumes done for Brentano's. The second class, apparently selected by Bursch himself for printing and publication, provide the tip-off to the real character of the Press, as Bursch conceived it, and as to his own contemporary taste. They reflect, also, a general bibliographic tendency of the time. Mostly they were reprints of standard literary texts, or represented special bibliographic material, dressed up in attractive formats and clean-cut, crisp typography; on good paper (with handmade paper, or Japanese, employed frequently); and turned out in small, limited editions. One good example of this class is the long-delayed *Bookbinding for Bibliophiles* by Fletcher Battershall, another reprint from the Magazine.

To this class also belongs the dainty and delicate series, *The Collector Reprints* (of Montaigne, Stevenson, and Wilde), perhaps inspired by The Mosher Books. The most interesting typographical feature of these is the use of color by Bursch, on some title pages, *for the first time for its own sake as an integral typographic factor*, distinctly foreshadowing the later work of this character to emanate from Hillacre. The advertisements of these *Reprints*, in the Magazine, are singularly misleading (save for the issue for August, 1905) both as to limitations and as to order of appearance in series—as to both of which the check list should be regarded as correct.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ The limitation notices stated in the earlier Magazine advertisements for several of the *Reprints* differ from such notices in the volumes themselves, as does the information as to paper used. The actual order of enumeration in the series differs similarly, for several volumes. Also, William Prynne's *Defence of Stage Plays*, included as one of the *Reprints* in the advertisement in the Magazine for September, 1905, does not seem to have been labelled a member of the series, on its appearance that year. No copy of Oscar Wilde's *Poems in Prose*, listed as one of the *Reprints*, has been found. The check list for these *Reprints* has been compiled from material

The Press also published reproductions of two pictures by Frank A. Nankivell,⁶¹ who had drawn the illustrations for Judicis' *A Collector's Portrait*. Mr. Sniffen has told the writer that no machine setting was done at the Press, such of its books as were composed that way having been "farmed out," a practice also adopted at Hillacre, later.

Completely missing from the Literary Collector books, however—save, perhaps, for Oscar Wilde's curious farrago of common sense and claptrap, *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*—were imprints of work sociological or economic in character rather than literary, such as came later from Hillacre in sufficient quantity to justify inclusion of that printing house among America's radical Presses.

Although we know, thanks to an inventory taken to support a chattel mortgage,⁶² what types and equipment were on hand in 1907, we do not know with what Bursch started when he set up his new plant, except that the Magazine continued in the same type faces employed for it previously (although in larger sizes) and that the Literary Collector books, save for a run of perhaps five volumes done in Caslon (including *The Pendleton Collection* and *Old Style Wall Papers*), were also printed in these types. For paper labels, and/or headings, Bursch used Plymouth, Gothic Condensed, and Jenson faces, and Ronaldson, which he

found in their own colophons, save for *Poems in Prose*, which had to be listed solely on the basis of information found in the Magazine advertisements.

⁶¹ *Mr. Bibliocrank and A Doubtful Copy*, both 1904. Mr. Nankivell did some posters for the Press, also.

⁶² This mortgage covered types of the following faces: Ronaldson, Self Spacing Old Style, Caslon, Cloister Black, Jenson Old Style, Plymouth, Wayside, Script, Remington Typewriter, Mercantile, Adver. Condensed [*sic*], Gothic [*sic*], Tudor Black, Post Condensed, some Missal Initials, and some "Fancy Initials." It also covered the equipment, printing furniture, office furniture, typewriter, a Universal press, copyrights and publications. To examine these faces, save for Plymouth, consult *Desk Book of Type Specimens Borders Ornaments Brass Rules and Cuts* (N. p., The American Type Founders Company, 1900) and *American Line Type Book, Brass Ornaments* (*ibid.*, *ibid.*, 1906). For the Plymouth series of faces, consult *Specimen Book of Type* (Chicago, Illinois, Barnhart Brothers & Spindler [1900]), pp. 492-496g.

also utilized in combination in title pages with the Self Spacing face, discussed soon. Cloister Black, and Missal Initials, were also incorporated into the magazine, towards its end. Bursch must have either bought the same fonts previously used by the Mills Printing Company, or obtained fresh fonts of the same faces from the founders. The latter seems more probable.⁶³

The body type used for the Magazine and most of the Literary Collector books was a face employed very widely around the turn of the century but which is almost never found today. It seems to have been known only as Self Spacing Old Style (with the complementary Italic).⁶⁴ It is a brilliant face, spiky-serifed, and prickly-porcupinish, and, in the writer's opinion, easy to read. It showed up especially well on soft, rough paper, when properly leaded. Mr. Sniffen has told the writer that it was easy and speedy to set—being virtually self-spacing in fact as well as name. Perhaps its very spikiness made it bruise easily and hence expensive. However, for whatever reason, it has disappeared today. The writer would welcome a revival.

Bursch may have encountered this face first at Pratt Institute, whose monthly magazine occasionally appeared, at the time, in the Self Spacing face. He did not get it from De Vinne or Hopkins, neither of whom (nor Gillis) used it, as far as is known. But he certainly ran into it when he joined *The Literary Collector Magazine*, printed in this face even in the era of Smith. Bursch carried it over, when he took on the Magazine as publisher, although he enlarged the sizes used. Most of the Literary Collector books were printed in the face. And Bursch learned to blend it with

⁶³ If the faces were bought new, he must have obtained all of them, but the Plymouth series, from the American Type Founders Company, the maker of such, and the Plymouth elsewhere, perhaps from Barnhart Brothers & Spindler, as hinted in footnote 62. A letter, dated May 27, 1948, from Mr. S. L. Watts, Manager of the Type Department of the first-named company, advises that the records kept at the time have been destroyed long since, so no information is available from that source.

⁶⁴ For numerous illustrations of this face, and of its complementary Italic, and an interesting article describing the theory on which it was cut, see the *Desk Book of Type Specimens*, 1900, cited in footnote 62, pp. 124 *et seq.*

Ronaldson, another prickly-serifed face, in many attractive title pages, and elsewhere.

As stated, the most annoying single obstacle handicapping research about Bursch and his books has been the complete, ruthless destruction of records, journals, correspondence, and even imprints after the collapse of Hillacre. As to the final wind-up of The Literary Collector Press, that institution dropped out of sight about as completely and nearly as suddenly as did "Uncle Abashai" and his crazy vessel in Kipling's *Captains Courageous*. In 1905 the Magazine, resplendent in its beautiful, final format, with price raised to \$2.00 per year, seems to have been running smoothly—never more attractive to the eye or interesting to the reader. Yet, with the issue for September, it just stopped—apparently without even advising subscribers—with only three numbers of Volume 10 published. In that year, too, at least thirteen book imprints, including some of the loveliest work of the Press, among them the attractive *Collector Reprints*, appeared, whereas only three books printed in 1906 have been turned up, and none done later.

What happened? The details we do not know. What we do know, merely in outline, is that Bursch went into the first of his three mental crack-ups, probably induced immediately by financial troubles stemming back to lack of elementary commercial competence. Only three bits of concrete evidence have turned up, however. In the last two volumes of the Magazine, outside advertising fell off sharply, most space being devoted to imprints of the Press itself—hardly a sign of health. Even the former practice of exchanging advertisements had stopped.⁶⁵ On April 6, 1906, the *Greenwich News* announced,

Owing to Mr. Bursch's long illness, the miscellaneous work of the Literary Collector Press is now to be discontinued, and Mr. Bursch will at his private

⁶⁵ As an illustration of such exchange, an advertisement of Bursch's Magazine appeared in *The Thistle* (New Rochelle, New York, Croscup & Sterling Company, 1902), I: viii (July, 1902). The latter was reciprocally advertised in the former at least twice. III: vi (February, 1902), and (March, 1902), outside rear cover.

press continue the artistic book printing that has given the Press its reputation among book collectors.⁶⁶

On June 21, 1907, the Press, as a New York corporation, executed to one Henry Manheim, otherwise unidentified, a chattel mortgage on its types, Universal press, equipment, furniture, copyrights, and publications, to secure a demand indebtedness of \$1871.00, bearing no interest—which makes the transaction look like an accommodation loan. The mortgage was recorded next day.⁶⁷ There is no record of its release. Perhaps Bursch's wealthy father "bailed him out"—as part of a series of advances not repaid until deducted, years later, from the principal of Fred's share of the deceased father's estate—as required expressly by the will. But one would expect the hard-headed salt merchant to have insisted on a recorded discharge of the mortgage. We have, however, Mr. Sniffen's word that Bursch moved to Hillacre "the same type faces and presses which he used when he was in Greenwich,"⁶⁸ so that the encumbrance must in fact have been satisfied, ultimately. Nevertheless, the interesting and artistic Literary Collector enterprises were finished. And Jugurtha had made his first descent to the baths.

We know that Bursch soon climbed back again, to re-enter his chosen field *via* Hillacre Bookhouse. But before the Press closed, a definite and novel tendency had originated there. In 1905, perhaps even late in 1904, Bursch had begun, palpably, to utilize color (particularly pastel shades) for its own sake as an independent, integral, overall value in letterpress printing.⁶⁹ Perhaps ac-

⁶⁶ This newspaper story was obtained through the kindness of the Greenwich Library.

⁶⁷ June 22, 1907, in Liber III of Miscellaneous *Land* Records (strangely enough), Town of Greenwich, Connecticut, p. 436.

⁶⁸ Undated letter, mailed February 15, 1949.

⁶⁹ There are numerous items, exhibiting this new idiom, dated 1905: (a) eight, or perhaps all nine, issues of Volumes IX and X of the Magazine; (b) several of *The Collector Reprints*, i.e., Montaigne's *On Books*, Wilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol* and *Portrait of Mr. W. H.* and *Soul of Man Under Socialism*; (c) Oscar Wegelin's

quaintance with printing like that done by the Pissaros, whose Eragny Press books had long been advertised in the Magazine, may be responsible for this. We do not know. But we do know that the designer was developing, during his last months at the Press, a new personal typographic idiom; an idiom, incidentally, carrying him well beyond the traditions of the school of Plain Printing Types, which tended to use color only sparingly and then merely as incidental decoration. Just how well this new idiom helped Bursch, as a typographic gangplank, to bridge the gap between his two ventures, and what striking use he made of it at Hillacre, constitute important parts of another story—to be told in full later.

CHECK LISTS

THE LITERARY COLLECTOR MAGAZINE

Up to the issue for Volume IV, No. 5 (September, 1902), when the printing was taken over by The Literary Collector Press (as yet unincorporated) which had been established at Greenwich, Connecticut, the printer is believed to have been the Mills Printing Company, of New York.

The body type employed throughout was Self Spacing Old Style Roman, of various sizes, with complementary Italic, and with collateral employment of Jenson Old Style, Plymouth, Gothic Condensed, etc.

VOLUMES I AND II. 6 issues each, October, 1900-September, 1901, inclusive. Publisher and copyrighter, George D. Smith, 4 East 42d St., New York. Editor: (1) A. J. Bowden, through Vol. II, No. 2 (May, 1901); (2) thereafter, Frederick C. Bursch. Assistant Editor, Ann Dennis Bursch (apparently after April, 1901). Size $5\frac{3}{4}$ " x 9".

Two columns reading matter to each body page. Paper, unidentified machine-made. Cover designs: (1) Vol. I, mere heading, with advertisements or special cuts; (2) Vol. II, leaf-border design by G. P. Roos. Illustrations. Advertisements.

Early American Plays . . . Second Edition Revised. As to details of all these, see the check lists.

If the issue of the Magazine for November-December, 1904 (Vol. IX, No. 1) were actually printed and published in 1904, it seems to be the earliest example of all.

VOLUME III. 6 issues, October, 1901-March, 1902, inclusive. Publisher and copyrighter, The Literary Collector Company (unincorporated) 33 West 42d St., New York. Entered as second-class matter at Post Office, New York. Editor, Frederick C. Bursch. Size $6\frac{5}{8}$ " x $9\frac{1}{2}$ ".

Two columns reading matter to each body page. Paper, unidentified machine-made. Cover: (1) brown paper, with black, or black-and-red, ink; (2) new design, with vignette and border by Homer W. Colby, heading and table of contents. Illustrations. Advertisements.

VOLUME IV. 6 issues, April, 1902-October, 1902, inclusive, number two being for May-June, to bring date of publication to the first of the month.

Other data. Same as Volume III, except: (1) The Company was now described as of "Greenwich, Conn., and 33 West 42d St., New York, N.Y."; (2) Post office for second-class entry now Greenwich; (3) cover paper now gray, with black and red ink; (4) beginning with number 5 (September, 1902) the printing was taken over by The Literary Collector Press (as yet unincorporated) recently established in Greenwich.

VOLUME V. 6 issues, November, 1902-April, 1903, inclusive.

Other data. Same as Volume IV, except (1) publisher and copyrighter were changed, respectively, beginning with the format-changing number for March, 1903, from The Literary Collector Company to The Literary Collector Press; (2) the Press was incorporated, in the State of New York, May 11, 1903; (3) cover paper now tan, with black and red ink.

VOLUMES VI AND VII. 6 issues each, May, 1903-April, 1904, inclusive.

Other data. Same as at end of Volume V, except that the New York City street address was changed with Vol. VI, No. 1 (May, 1903) to 1135 Broadway.

VOLUME VIII. 6 issues, May, 1904-October, 1904, inclusive.

Other data. Same as at end of Volume VII, except: (1) New York City street address was changed, with number 1 (May, 1904) to 7 West 42d Street; (2) this street address was dropped entirely with number 5 (September, 1904).

VOLUMES IX AND X. Only 9 issues, spread out over period, November, 1904-September, 1905, inclusive. Volume IX consisted of six numbers, as usual, but containing two two-month numbers—number 1 (November-December, 1904); number 2 (January-February, 1905). Volume X, never completed, contained only three issues, for July, August, and September, 1905.

Beginning with Vol. IX, No. 1 (November-December, 1904) the format was completely revolutionized, reverting to the original size of Volumes I and II, *i.e.*, 5¾" x 9". The bi-columnar body page format was abandoned for single lines running across the narrowed page. Much better paper was utilized for the body; some identified by watermark, "Enfield S. Co. + 1887," some unidentified. Cover, cartridge paper, of varying colors, folded over an inner board core, and printed in black and red. Covers became purely typological and included a device of the Press. A modified front cover per volume was added for binding. Rear covers were mostly left blank. Illustrations became sparse. Unquestionably the most beautiful format of the Magazine. These volumes illustrate Bursch's growing interest in color as an independent typographic value in letterpress printing. The Tudor Black type face was used effectively, with Missal Initials, on title pages and covers.

LITERARY COLLECTOR ITEMS PUBLISHED BY GEORGE D. SMITH

MAGAZINE. As indicated in the check list for the *Literary Collector Magazine*, the first two volumes thereof were published by George D. Smith.

ANONYMOUS. *Price List and Buyers' Names of the First Editions of William Harris Arnold Sold at Auction by Bangs & Co. Jan. 30-31, 1901. Presented to the Subscribers to The Literary Collector. Geo. D. Smith, Publisher, 4 East Forty-Second Street, New York.* 8-page folder. 6⅞" x 9⅞".

Number of copies unknown. Paper, unidentified machine-made. Types, a strange mixture, body type being Self Spacing Old Style Roman; the others include Caslon. *Gratis* to Magazine subscribers, \$1.00 to others. This list is not to be confused with the official *Record* of the sale, printed at The Marion Press.

ANONYMOUS. *Price List of the Library of the Late Frederick W. French, Sold at Auction by C. F. Libbie & Co., Boston, Mass. April 23, 24, 25, 1901. Presented to the Subscribers to The Literary Collector. Geo. D. Smith, Publisher, 4 East Forty-Second Street. New York.* 8-page folder. 6½" x 9¼".

Number of copies unknown. Paper, unidentified machine-made. Types, chiefly Self Spacing Old Style. Publication announced in the magazine for May, 1901.

WHITMAN, WALT. *Lafayette in Brooklyn.* Mr. Smith, as publisher, had this printed at The Literary Collector Press in 1905. It is described in the check list of book imprints of that Press.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE LITERARY COLLECTOR COMPANY

MAGAZINE. Volume III and, in part, Volume IV, were published by the Company before it styled itself as a "Press," even prior to incorporation. See check list for Magazine.

ANONYMOUS. *Books and Letters Being a Price List, with Buyers' Names, of First Editions Collected by William H. Arnold. Sold at the Rooms of Bangs & Co., New York . . . May 7 & 8, 1901.* [Vignette] *The Literary Collector Company, 33 West 42d Street, New York.* 8-page folder. 6¾" x 9¾".

Number of copies unknown. Paper, unidentified machine-made. Types, a mixture, chiefly Self Spacing Old Style. Publication first announced in Magazine for June, 1901, p. 57, but according to issue for December, 1901, p. 95, the original undertaking to publish was neglected, and the list was not put out until "the present publishers, to make good the promise, . . . decided to print it." This, of course, accounts for the vignette. *Gratis* to Magazine subscribers, \$1.00 to others. Not to be confused with the official *Record* of the sale, printed at The Marion Press.

[BOWDEN, A. J., compiler]. [*List of Prices Obtained at the Marshall C. Lefferts Sale, April 21-24, 1902*]. No copy found. "In paper and size it is to be uniform with the sale catalogue so that it may be bound in with it."

Number of copies, kind of paper, types, unknown. Announced in the Magazine for May-June, 1902, p. [1].

SHAYLOR, JOSEPH, compiler. [Name spelled SHALER in Preface]. *The Pleasures of Literature and the Solace of Books, . . . with an Introduction by Andrew Lang.* New York, The Literary Collector Company, 1902. 143 pp. 5½" x 6¾".

Number of copies unknown. Paper, unidentified machine-made. Handset in "10 point Old Style No. 79" (See American Type Founders Co. *Desk Book* . . . 1900, p. 84). Green cloth with gilt lettering and vignette. Third American edition. First edition, published around 1898, by Truslove & Comba, New York. Second edition, enlarged and reset, by Wilbur B. Ketcham, New York, 1899, in 250-copy edition, some on Japan paper, if not all. Fourth edition, put out by Barse & Hopkins, later. Last three editions printed from either same lock-ups or same plates, being identical save for bindings, title page, and elimination of frontispiece from fourth edition.

THE PHOTOGRAVURE & COLOR COMPANY. "A Book Worm," photogravure "after the painting by Edouard Grützner, in the Munich Gallery." Single page, 12" x 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ "; size plate, 5" x 4".

"A limited number of impressions" on "genuine heavy Japan paper." Appeared first as frontispiece in Magazine for April, 1902.

IMPRINTS OF THE LITERARY COLLECTOR PRESS

This check list is believed definitely to be incomplete, due to the inability to locate authoritative material as to imprints of the Press. The chief reason for this was the destruction of records, etc., after Hillacre Bookhouse foundered, as told in the article to which this list is a supplement.

Information, corrective as to imprints mentioned, or additional, as to imprints not discovered, will be welcomed by the compiler and should be sent to him care The Grolier Club, 47 East 60th Street, New York 22, N. Y. Similar information regarding Bursch's imprints at Hillacre will be welcomed similarly.

The title pages of many book imprints are printed in a skilful and artistic blend of Ronaldson and Self Spacing Old Style type faces.

MAGAZINE. As pointed out in the text, the Magazine, beginning with the issue for September, 1902 (Vol. IV, No. 5), was printed by the Press.

1903

JUDICIS, LOUIS, and KUNZ, E. F., *translator. Le Collectionneur—A Collector's Portrait.* New York, The Literary Collector Press, 1903. [42] pp. 6" x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

Number of copies uncertain. According to the colophon, 12 copies were printed on Imperial Japanese vellum and 225 on Enfield paper. But advertisements in the Magazine for 1904 indicate that 15 were to be printed on Japanese vellum and 250 on Enfield deckle-edge plate paper. Also, the advertisement in the Magazine for October, 1902, called for 25 signed and numbered copies on Japanese vellum, 75 numbered copies on Dickinson handmade paper, and 500 on deckle-edge all-rag paper. In absence of other records the colophon seems the most reliable guide. Only Enfield-paper copies have been discovered.

Printed in handset Self Spacing Old Style types. Blue boards with white paper labels printed in black in Plymouth and Gothic Condensed types. Frontispiece and marginal illustrations by Frank A. Nankivell. Reprinted from the Magazine. As stated in the article, the footnotes, it is impossible to tell whether this or the Slicer *Shelley* was the first book imprint of the Press.

SLICER, THOMAS R. *Percy Bysshe Shelley, An Appreciation . . . With an Illustrated Bibliography*. New York, Privately Printed, 1903. 82 pp. 6" x 9½".

15 copies were printed on Imperial Japanese Vellum and 150 on American handmade paper, otherwise unidentified. Printed in handset Self Spacing Old Style types. Blue boards with white paper labels printed in black in Plymouth and Gothic Condensed types. Frontispiece and illustrations consisting of facsimile reproductions from Shelley's books. A 4-page prospectus, two pages printed, 5" x 8", number of copies unknown, was also put out on Damask Linene paper, but this does not look like the typography done at the Press. As stated in the article and footnotes, it is impossible to tell whether this or the *Judicis-Kunz A Collector's Portrait* was the first book imprint of the Press.

WEGELIN, OSCAR, *compiler*. *A Compilation of the Titles of Volumes of Verse and Broad-sides, Written by Writers Born or Residing in North America, and Issued During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. New York, Published by the Compiler, 1903. vii, 86 pp. 6¼" x 9½".

150 numbered copies on paper watermarked "Enfield S. Co. + 1887." Printed in handset Self Spacing Old Style types. Dark gray boards, with paper labels, printed in black, in Plymouth and Gothic Condensed types. Title page in black and red. A second edition was printed by Douglas Taylor & Co., New York, in 1907, after Mr. Bursch's Literary Collector Press had become inactive.

WILLIAMS, EDWARD P. *Extracts from Letters to A.B.T. from Edward P. Williams During His Service in the Civil War 1862-1864*. New York, For Private Distribution, 1903. 122 pp. 5" x 8".

Number of copies unknown. Van Gelder handmade paper. Printed in machine-set Self Spacing Old Style types. Dark gray boards and brown leather spine, with gilt lettering. Said by Mr. William L. Sniffen, Sr. (Mr. Bursch's compositor) to be machine-set and hence "farmed out" for composition, although printed at the Press. Vignette on title page. Mr. Williams was brother-in-law of Mrs. Bursch.

1904

[BURSCH, FREDERICK C., *possible compiler*]. *Books at Auction, A Price-Record of Books, Prints, Autographs and Book-Plates Sold at Auction in America*. No copy found.

In the Magazine for October and November, 1903, appear advertisements for this proposed publication, evidently to be in the nature of *American Book Prices Current*, and announcing three issues to appear in 1904. Mr. Oscar Wege-

lin and the compiler believe the project never materialized, as not even further advertisements were found.

DARGAN, OLIVE TILFORD. *Semiramis and Other Plays*. New York, Brentano's, 1904. 255 pp. 5" x 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ ".

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified machine-made paper. Printed in Self Spacing Old Style types, apparently handset. Light blue boards with red cloth spine. White paper label, printed in black, on spine only. Vignette on title page.

DARGAN, PEGRAM. *Carolina Ditties*. N.p. Published for the Author by The Literary Collector Press, 1904. vi, 102 pp. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified machine-made paper. Printed in handset Self Spacing Old Style types. Dark blue cloth, with gilt lettering on spine only.

HAWKINS, RUSH C[HRISTOPHER]. *Corlears Hook in 1820. The Wagnerian Cult and Our Manners*. New York, J. W. Bouton, 1904. 90 pp. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ ".

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified machine-made paper. Printed in Self Spacing Old Style types. Gray boards, with white label, printed in red and black, on spine only.

JOLINE, ADRIAN HOFFMAN. *The Book Collector and Other Papers*. Greenwich, Connecticut, Privately Printed at The Literary Collector Press, 1904. 230 pp. 6" x 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ ".

150 copies. Paper watermarked "Ruisdael." Printed in handset Self Spacing Old Style types. Gray boards with white vellum spine, with white paper label, printed in Jenson Old Style type, on spine only. Title page in black and red. Contains two essays reprinted from the Magazine.

LETHWIDGE, ARNOLD. *The Bookbindings of Ralph Randolph Adams, An Appreciation*. New York, Privately Printed, 1904. 44 pp. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified, glazed paper. Printed in Self Spacing Old Style types. Dark brown paper wrappers, silk-stitched, with title, etc., printed in black and red, in Jenson Old Style type, on outside front cover.

LOCKWOOD, LUKE VINCENT. *The Pendleton Collection* [Providence, Rhode Island], The Rhode Island School of Design, 1904. 416 pp. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 13 $\frac{5}{8}$ ".

160 copies on Imperial Mill Japan Vellum. Printed in 14-point Caslon Old

Style No. 71, with title page bordered and hand lettered. According to Mrs. Lockwood, 150 copies were bound in full leather, some in green, some in red, with gilt lettering on spines. A brown-leather bound copy has also been found. An unnumbered copy in three-quarters blue morocco, either rebound, or thus bound initially from unbound sheets was sold in Sale No. 444, City Bank Auction, New York City, March 19, 1949. According to the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, some unbound copies were still on hand in April, 1947. Illustrated with 102 photogravure plates from The Photogravure & Color Company, New York. Device in brown.

NANKIVELL, FRANK A. *Mr. Bibliocrank*. A single-sheet poster, size 11" x 16¾". Printed at press in three colors from wood blocks designed and engraved by the artist. First announced in the Magazine for May, 1904, p. iv.

Said to be 50 proof copies, pulled and signed by artist, with 650 copies later. Also some printed, with appropriate inscription, for use as advertising posters for the Magazine.

— *A Doubtful Copy*. A single-sheet photogravure, size 17" x 22"; size of plate 9" x 11".

Photogravure from a painting in oils, reproduced in the Magazine for February and August, 1904. First announced in issue for January, 1904. Said to be 10 copies printed on India paper and 50 on Japan paper, all signed by the artist; also 150 on plate paper, apparently unsigned—all pulled under immediate supervision of the artist.

WEGELIN, OSCAR. *William Dunlap and his Writings*. N.p. Printed for Private Circulation [1904]. 8 pp. 6¾" x 8⅞".

Reprinted from the Magazine for January, 1904. 25 copies only, on unidentified paper. Printed in Self Spacing Old Style. Brown paper wrappers, with black lettering on outside front cover.

1905

BATTERSHALL, FLETCHER. *Bookbinding for Bibliophiles. Being Notes on Some Technical Features of the Well Bound Book for the Aid of Connoisseurs, Together with a Sketch of Gold Tooling Ancient and Modern*. Greenwich, Connecticut, The Literary Collector Press, MCMV. 132 pp. 5½" x 8¾".

50 copies on Japanese vellum and 300 on Enfield plate paper. Printed in 14-point Caslon Old Style No. 71. Japanese paper copies bound in green cloth with

white paper label, printed in black and red, on spine only. Enfield paper copies bound in gray boards, with white paper labels, printed in black and red, on spine and front cover. Frontispiece in photogravure. Title page in black and red, with black pressmark. Revised from papers contributed to the Magazine.

CLARK, MARY SHERRERD. *In the Olden Days. Papers Colonial and Revolutionary*. Greenwich, Connecticut, Privately Printed at The Literary Collector Press, 1905. 120 pp. 5¾" x 9".

100 copies on Arnold handmade paper. Printed in Self Spacing Old Style types. Gray boards with paper labels, printed in black and red, in Plymouth and Self Spacing types, on spine and front cover. Title page in black and red.

LA JEUNESSE, ERNEST, ANDRÉ GIDE, and FRANZ BLEI, and PERCIVAL POLLARD, *translator*. *In Memoriam, Oscar Wilde*. Greenwich, Connecticut, The Literary Collector Press, 1905. 107 pp. 4¼" x 6".

975 copies on unidentified machine-made paper. Printed in Self Spacing Old Style types. Gray boards with white paper labels, printed in Jenson Old Style, on spine (black only) and front cover (black and red). Title page in black and red. This is *not* one of *The Collector Reprints* although quite similar thereto in size and format.

POE, EDGAR ALLAN. *Tamerlane and Other Poems Reprinted from the first edition published at Boston in 1827*. Greenwich, Connecticut, Privately Printed at The Literary Collector Press, 1905. viii, 40 pp. 4¼" x 6".

According to the colophon—2 copies on India paper (not seen); 10 on Japanese vellum (not seen); 25 on Arnold handmade paper (No. 20 examined at the New York Public Library). Printed in Self Spacing Old Style types with black-letter initials. Copy number 20 bound in dark gray boards with paper label in Jenson Old Style type on front cover. Spine too badly damaged to tell whether a label also thereon or not. Printed, according to colophon, for Mr. Frank Maier, "to celebrate the launching of the yawl, TAMERLANE, June 3, 1905." Contains facsimile of title page and cover of first edition but is not otherwise a facsimile. According to Mr. Oscar Wegelin this was the first American reprint of this book.

PRYNNE, WILLIAM. *Mr. William Prynne, his Defence of STAGE PLAYS, or A Retraction of a former Book of his called Histrio-Mastix, Reprinted*. Greenwich, Connecticut, The Literary Collector Press, 1905. A-2—8 pp. Japanese vellum copies, 5⅝" x 8¾"; Enfield paper copies, 5⅝" x 7¾".

25 copies on Japanese vellum; 125 on paper watermarked "Enfield S. Co. +

1887." Printed in 14 point Caslon Old Style No. 71 types, with one 36 point "fat-face" initial (W) and with title page in facsimile. Gray boards with paper labels in black and red on spine and front cover. In the last issue of the Magazine, for September, 1905, this is listed as one of *The Collector Reprints* but the volume itself does not so indicate.

SANBORN, KATE [KATHERINE ABBOTT]. *Old Time Wall Papers. An Account of the Pictorial Papers on Our Forefathers' Walls, with a Study of the Historical Development of Wall Paper Making and Decoration*. Greenwich, Connecticut, New York [sic], The Literary Collector Press, 1905. xiv, 116 pp. 8¼" x 11½".

According to colophon, 75 copies, signed and numbered, on French Japan paper (none seen); and 975 numbered copies on American plate paper. However, according to advance notices in the Magazine (Volumes IX and X), instead of the 75 copies on French Japan paper, at first 50, and later 75 copies were planned on handmade paper (none found). Reliance upon the colophon in this respect seems justified. Printed in 14 point Caslon Old Style No. 71 types. Some of the plate paper copies were bound in gray boards, others in brown boards. Paper labels in black and red on spine and front cover. Title page in black and red, with pressmark. Profusely illustrated, with frontispiece and 83 plates, some in color, showing old wall papers.

WHITMAN, WALT. *Lafayette in Brooklyn*. New York, George D. Smith, 1905. [27] pp. 5½" x 8½".

15 numbered copies on Imperial Japanese vellum (none found) and 235 on American handmade, otherwise unidentified. Printed in 14 point Caslon Old Style No. 71 types. Light gray boards, with paper labels, black on white, printed in Jenson Old Style types, on spine and front cover. Frontispiece and two other illustrations.

WEGELIN, OSCAR, compiler. *Early American Plays, 1714-1830. A Compilation of the Titles of Plays and Dramatic Poems Written by Authors Born or Residing in North America Previous to 1830. Second Edition Revised*. New York, The Literary Collector Press, 1905. x, 94 pp. 5½" x 8¾".

200 copies (some signed) on "a deckle edge, antique paper" watermarked "Enfield S. Co. + 1887." Printed in Self Spacing Old Style types. Gray boards with paper labels, printed in black only, in Plymouth and (apparently) Conner's Series No. 313 types, on spine and front cover. Label to portrait printed in Tudor Black and Gothic Condensed types. Title page printed in black and red, with pressmark in brown, one of Bursch's early examples of three-color letterpress printing.

—*The Writings of John Howard Payne. Reprinted from The Literary Collector.* Greenwich, Connecticut, The Literary Collector Press, March, 1905. 8 pp. 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

Number of copies unknown. Paper unidentified. Printed in Self Spacing Old Style types. Unbound. Looks like an extra run of the Magazine pages, renumbered.

The Collector Reprints, 1905

Data regarding some of these, expressed in advertisements in the Magazine, are contradicted sharply by the colophons to individual volumes. The colophons should be regarded as more authoritative than the advertisements. Discrepancies are noted below. Some of these *Reprints* further illustrate Bursch's early examples of three-color letterpress printing.

Number One. STEVENSON, ROBERT LOUIS. *Books Which Have Interested Me. A Paper Contributed to "The British Weekly," May 13, 1887.* Greenwich, Connecticut, The Literary Collector Press, 1905. 24 pp. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

25 numbered copies on Japanese Vellum and 275 on American handmade, otherwise unidentified. Printed in Self Spacing Old Style types. Gray boards with paper labels, in black and red in Jenson Old Style and Gothic Condensed types on spine and front cover. Title page in black and red with pressmark in red. According to advance advertisements in the Magazine the title page was to have been printed in black, red, and brown.

Number Two. MONTAIGNE, MICHEL EYQUEM DE. *Of Books.* Greenwich, Connecticut, The Literary Collector Press, 1905. 49 pp. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

25 numbered copies on Japanese Vellum; 275 on American handmade paper, otherwise unidentified. Printed in Self Spacing Old Style types. Gray boards with paper labels, printed in black and red, in Jenson Old Style and Gothic Condensed types, on spine and front cover. Title page in black and red with pressmark in brown.

Number Three. WILDE, OSCAR. *The Ballad of Reading Gaol.* Greenwich, Connecticut, The Literary Collector Press, 1905. [33] pp. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

25 numbered copies on Japanese Vellum and 275 on American handmade paper, otherwise unidentified. Printed in Self Spacing Old Style types. Gray boards with paper labels, printed in black and red, in Jenson Old Style and Gothic Condensed types, on spine and front cover. Title page in black and red with pressmark in brown.

Number Four.—*Poems in Prose.* No copy found. Advertised in advance advertisements in the Magazine as number "IV" of the *Reprints*, to consist of 25 numbered copies on Japanese Vellum and 275 on American handmade paper.

Number Five. — *The Portrait of Mr. W. H. A Problem of the Shakespeare Sonnets.* Greenwich, Connecticut, The Literary Collector Press, 1905. 100 pp. 4¼" x 5½".

According to colophon: 275 copies on American handmade paper, otherwise unidentified; and 250 on Enfield paper. According to advance advertisements in the magazine (Volumes IX and X) this was to have been Number 6 of the *Reprints*, and was to have consisted of 25 copies on Japanese Vellum (none found) and 275 on American handmade paper. The colophon is believed to be more accurate. Printed in Self Spacing Old Style types. Gray boards with paper labels, printed in black and red, in Jenson Old Style and Gothic Condensed types, on spine and front cover. Title page in black and red with pressmark in brown.

Number Six. — *The Soul of Man Under Socialism.* Greenwich, Connecticut, The Literary Collector Press, 1905. 120 pp. 4¼" x 5½".

According to colophon, 500 copies on Enfield paper. According to advance advertisements in the Magazine (Volumes IX and X) this was to have been Number 5 of the *Reprints* and was to have consisted of 25 copies on Japanese Vellum (none found) and 275 on American handmade paper (none found). The colophon is believed to be more accurate. Printed in Self Spacing Old Style types. Gray boards with paper labels, printed in black and red, in Jenson Old Style and Gothic Condensed types, on spine and front cover. Title page in black and red with pressmark in brown.

Number Seven. According to an advertisement in the last issue of the Magazine, an item listed above, *Mr. William Prynne, his Defence of STAGE PLAYS . . .*, was to form Number 7 of the *Reprints*. But the volume itself contains no such statement.

1906

ANONYMOUS. *Letters By and To Nathanael Greene With Some to His Wife.* New York, George H. Richmond, 1906. 39 pp. 4⅝" x 8".

250 numbered copies on paper watermarked "Enfield S. Co. + 1887." Printed in Self Spacing Old Style types, with Missal Initial, T, and with title page in Caslon Old Style Roman and Italic types, with vignette. Wrappers, pink (or perhaps faded lavender) of unidentified charcoal paper. No labels. Front cover

duplicated by the title page. A finely printed sales catalogue for a collection of General Greene's letters, evidently for sale by bibliopole Richmond. The only sale catalogue printed by The Literary Collector Press found, so far, although there are believed to be others.

GRATACAP, L[OUIS] P[OPE]. *A Woman of the Ice Age*. New York, Brentano's, 1906. 230 pp. 5¾" x 8¼".

Number of copies unknown. Unidentified coated paper. Set by machine (hence "farmed out" for composition) in 11 point Linotype De Vinne. Paper covered boards, with pictorial front cover, and label printed directly on spine. Front cover, spine, and title page in black and red. Apparently a quasi-scientific novel.

WEGELIN, OSCAR, *compiler*. *A List of the Separate Writings of William Gilmore Simms, of South Carolina, 1806-1870*. New York, Published by the Compiler, 1906. 31 pp. 5¾" x 8¾".

110 numbered copies on paper watermarked "Enfield S. Co. + 1887." Printed in Self Spacing Old Style types. Gray boards, with paper label, printed in black only, in Jenson Old Style types, on front cover only. Title page in black.

The Bibliographical History of Thoreau's *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*

By RAYMOND ADAMS*

DOES any American book of its time offer more interesting bibliographical problems than the published and republished first edition of Henry Thoreau's *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, first in 1849—exactly a century ago—and then in 1862? Perhaps it will clear the matter to review the history of that book in its various editions. A literary history would try to relate Thoreau to it as author and trace his years of composition; this account will relate him to the book merely as its financial backer and retailer of a few copies. A literary history would seek the sources of Thoreau's ideas and the creative process that knit the book together; this account will go behind the book for only a brief glimpse at the few parts of it that had been printed anywhere before 1849. And a literary history would trace the influence of the book as literature; but this will trace the editions of the book and describe the booklets that have splintered from it.

Thoreau's *A Week* is, as every undergraduate knows, a skillful arranging of a few materials from his published writings in *The Dial*, and many items from his early journals, on a thread of narrative recounting the seven-day voyage of John and Henry Thoreau in the *Musketaquid*, a boat of their own building.¹ So little of

* Read at the meeting of the Society in New York, January 28, 1949.

¹ The one week arrangement not only gives the book unity, it is accurate. The brothers were on the rivers exactly seven days, August 31 to September 5 and Septem-

all the material gathered into the book had been printed anywhere prior to 1849 that the early bibliographical history of *A Week* during its formative period can be brief indeed. All that Thoreau had published before 1849 had appeared in five magazines, and of this slight output the fifteen items that went into *A Week* were from the four volumes of *The Dial* (1840-1844): eleven short original poems, three prose passages, and a critical paragraph plus eleven translated poems from the pseudo-Anacreon. Beyond a footnote listing it is not necessary to detail these fifteen items here.² They offer no bibliographical problems, and with one exception they were transferred almost unchanged from *The Dial* to *A Week*. The one exception is the poem *To The*

ber 12 to 13, 1839. They were away from Concord fourteen days, but seven of these days were used for a walking trip in New Hampshire after they had sailed up the Merrimack.

² *Sympathy* (poem), *The Dial*, I: 71-72. Reprinted in *A Week* (1849), 274-275. (July, 1840.)

Aulus Persius Flaccus (prose), *The Dial*, I: 117-121. Reprinted in *A Week* (1849), 324-329. (July, 1840.)

Stanzas (poem, "Nature doth have her dawn each day"), *The Dial*, I: 314. Reprinted in *A Week* (1849), 298. (January, 1841.)

Sic Vita (poem), *The Dial*, II: 81-82. Reprinted in *A Week* (1849), 403-404. (July, 1841.)

Friendship (poem), *The Dial*, II: 204-205. Reprinted in *A Week* (1849), 300-303. (October, 1841.)

The Inward Morning (poem), *The Dial*, III: 198-199. Reprinted in *A Week* (1849), 308-309. (October, 1842.)

Free Love (poem), *The Dial*, III: 199. Reprinted in *A Week* (1849), 293. (October, 1842.)

The Poet's Delay (poem), *The Dial*, III: 200. Reprinted in *A Week* (1849), 362. (October, 1842.)

Rumors from an Aeolian Harp (poem), *The Dial*, III: 200. Reprinted in *A Week* (1849), 181-182. (October, 1842.)

To the Maiden in the East (poem), *The Dial*, III: 222-224. Reprinted in *A Week* (1849), 51-52. (October, 1842.)

The Summer Rain (poem), *The Dial*, III: 224-225. Reprinted in *A Week* (1849), 318-319. (October, 1842.)

Anacreon (prose with eleven translated poems), *The Dial*, III: 484-490. Reprinted in *A Week* (1849), 236-242. (April, 1843.)

Haze (poem), *The Dial*, III: 505. Reprinted in *A Week* (1849), 227. (April, 1843.)

Dark Ages (prose), *The Dial*, III: 527-529. Reprinted in *A Week* (1849), 159-163. (April, 1843.)

Homer. Ossian. Chaucer (prose), *The Dial*, IV: 290-303. Reprinted in *A Week* (1849), 95-99, 362-367, 386-396. (January, 1844.)

Maiden in the East which in *The Dial* version had nine eight-line stanzas but in the 1849 printing in *A Week* had but six stanzas, having lost the fifth, sixth, and seventh stanzas of the earlier version.

Some of the *Dial* poems that appeared later in *A Week* are Thoreau's best, particularly that one of his *Orphics* with the title *Haze*. Others like *Sympathy* ("Lately alas, I knew a gentle boy") and *Sic Vita* ("I am a parcel of vain strivings tied") are less excellent as poems but are well above Thoreau's middle flight and are perennially popular among anthologists. Thoreau was but a mediocre poet wise enough to drop versifying in favor of the splendid prose he could write. His better poems came early; many of these appeared in *The Dial*; and these better ones along with others that had not seen print in *The Dial* lodged in *A Week*, and gave that book a higher verse content than Thoreau chose for his next book, *Walden*.

Using these few bits from *The Dial* and great quantities of material from his journals, Thoreau wrote his book at Walden Pond in 1845 and 1846 and thought he had it ready for a printer long before he left Walden in September, 1847, for Emerson referred to it on July 16, 1846, as a book ready for a publisher and with the title *Excursion on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*.³ Exactly eight months later, March 16, 1847, Bronson Alcott referred to it as "his MS volume which he is preparing to print some day entitled 'A Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers.'" The title had become fixed in the interval. But the text was not yet settled, for on January 13, 1848, Alcott wrote in his diary, "Henry Thoreau came in after my hours with the children, and we had a good deal of talk on the modes of popular influence. He read me a manuscript essay of his on 'Friendship,'

³ Ralph Waldo Emerson to Charles King Newcomb, July 16, 1846. *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, edited by Ralph S. Rusk. III: 339 (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939).

⁴ *The Journals of Bronson Alcott*, selected and edited by Odell Shepard, p. 213 (Boston, Little, Brown, 1938). Alcott used the newer spelling *Merrimac*.

which he had just written, and which I thought superior to anything I had heard.”⁵ It was, then, after this that Thoreau inserted the “Friendship” essay into the Wednesday chapter of his book.

The process of finding a publisher for the now completed book has been so well detailed by Mr. James Playsted Wood in a recent article in *The New Colophon*⁶ that it need not be retold here. However, perhaps we can stop to wonder a little. Why, considering the books that did get published in 1847 and 1848, and considering Emerson’s influence with the men he sought to interest in the book—publishers and men like Evert Duyckinck in New York and W. H. Furness in Philadelphia, and considering the personal attention given to the matter by William Emerson in New York; why, considering all these things, was it impossible to secure a publisher? Ralph Waldo Emerson had done better for lesser authors, for Jones Very in 1839 and for Ellery Channing in 1843. Duyckinck offered to read Thoreau’s manuscript and so did a new publisher in Philadelphia named Moore. But there is no evidence that Thoreau sent his manuscript to either of these gentlemen or to any publisher or literary agent. Can it be that Henry Thoreau, jealous always of his privacy, chose to send no more than a prospectus of his book to those who could have helped him most in his search for a publisher? I think this is a very real possibility. Thoreau, as his correspondence with Horace Greeley proves, was a novice and a bit of a fumbler in dealing with publishers, particularly if they were as remote as New York and Philadelphia. Boston publishers could at least be visited and agreements reached in person. Thoreau had a way about him in an interview, as the President of Harvard College could have attested after Thoreau persuaded him to open Harvard Library to alumni borrowers from remote places like Concord.

⁵ Quoted from Alcott’s diary by F. B. Sanborn, *Henry D. Thoreau*, p. 304 (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1882).

⁶ James Playsted Wood, *Mr. Thoreau Writes a Book*, in: *The New Colophon*, I: 367-376 (October 1948).

So it is not surprising that it was a Boston publisher who at last published the book. But James Munroe must also have had a way about him in an interview, for the book was to be published at Thoreau's expense. Just what the expense was is not known, but it was several hundred dollars, and it was surely not lowered when Thoreau asked for a thousand corrections in the page proof. Thoreau mentioned at the time of his final settlement with Munroe that he had paid \$290 to the publisher directly. The cost of the thousand books would have been much more than this twenty-nine cents apiece. Ticknor and Fields, when they bought the remainder in 1862, after many of the bound copies had been sold, paid forty cents apiece for them.

Publication was delayed. The page proofs contain an 1848 copyright date, indicating that publication late in 1848 had been anticipated. The book itself, published May 26, 1849, contains an 1849 copyright date. Making those changes in page proof took time. The book is tall, with a $4\frac{4}{64}$ by $7\frac{8}{64}$ inch page. The first edition has three important "points," corrected by Thoreau himself in the copies he sold or gave away: (1) Thoreau had asked for more space in the middle of page 396, and in opening that space three lines were inadvertently dropped out at the bottom of the page; (2) on page 120 "work" was printed instead of "wash"; and (3) on page 139 "experience" was printed instead of "expediency," though in the copy he gave to Nathaniel Hawthorne the author changed this word to "expedience."

The bindings of the first edition arouse some interest. When, as will be detailed later, Ticknor and Fields bought the unsold copies Thoreau had on hand,⁷ 450 copies were in sheets. Of the original thousand 550 must have been bound, but not all bound at once nor all bound alike. Presumably all those that came ready bound to Thoreau in 1853 were bound in one batch. Mr. Albert E. Lownes of Providence, Rhode Island, has found on first edi-

⁷ The transaction took place on April 12, 1862, but twenty-four days prior to Thoreau's death. The details of the sale must have been managed by his sister Sophia.

tions three different colors of cloth, black, tan, and dark olive-brown, two different textures, and two different designs on the sides.

The history of the second issue of this first edition arouses even more interest. Thoreau received from Munroe on October 28, 1853, 706 copies of *A Week*, the publisher keeping twelve in stock. Since 450 of these returned copies were in sheets, 256 were bound copies. This would indicate that since 1849 282 copies, perhaps bound a few at a time, had been sold or given away. A year and a half later Thoreau wrote Munroe about the possibility of a new edition, saying that there were then about 250 bound copies on hand and 450 copies in sheets.⁸ In the next eight and a half years Thoreau sold, gave away, placed on consignment, or left in his bookcases 111 copies, for only 145 bound copies were sold to Ticknor and Fields in 1862. On October 18, 1854, perhaps because *Walden* was on the market, Thoreau left twelve copies of *A Week* on consignment with Ticknor and Fields. There may have been other such occasions.

The question is, were these 145 bound copies which Ticknor and Fields bought in 1862 reissued like the unbound copies with new 1862 title pages? That now seems to me doubtful, though I had for years assumed with everyone else that all the copies bought from Thoreau then were reissued with the 1862 title page. Yet I had wondered why 1862 copies, if there had been 595 of them, were at least as rare as 1849 copies. It occurred to me rather belatedly to doubt that it would have been profitable to tear down and recase those copies already bound, for all 1862 copies have a different binding and some of them a different size. (I have one copy with a page size of $4\frac{4}{64}$ by $7\frac{3}{64}$ inches and one with a page size of $4\frac{3}{64}$ by $7\frac{8}{64}$ inches.) My doubt now has some basis, and I acknowledge my debt to Mr. Lownes and to Professor W. S. Tryon of Boston University for the facts that prove the case. Ticknor and Fields did buy 595 copies at forty

⁸ Henry D. Thoreau to Munroe and Company, April 30, 1855 (unpublished).

cents each. They then bought from Welch, Bigelow and Company only 500 copies of the 1862 title page at half a cent apiece. These title pages were sufficient for the 450 unbound copies but not for the entire 595 copies of the remainder they had just bought. Moreover (I am still relying on Professor Tryon's figures from the records of the firm), they commissioned Lemon, Fields and Company to bind 450 copies at twelve cents a copy and duly paid them the \$54. This done, the record reads that in 1862 Ticknor and Fields issued 595 copies.

Clearly, after the 450 had been bound with new 1862 title pages, 145 bound copies remained with the 1849 title pages. These may have been scrapped, but it is not likely that Ticknor and Fields scrapped them before they tried to sell them. It is possible they did sell some or distribute them somehow. The records of the firm say that all 595 copies were issued, and copies thrown away would hardly be so described. One is disturbed by remembering that the provenance of those 1849 copies that can be traced indicates not a single one bought new in 1862 or later. At best, it is possible that 550 copies of the 1849 *A Week* were distributed first and last as against 450 of the 1862 copies. At worst, if the entire 145 copies that went to Ticknor and Fields were scrapped, 405 of the 1849 copies were distributed as against the same 450 copies with the 1862 date. Either way, the balance is better dressed than has been supposed, and the equal rarity of 1862 and 1849 copies comes nearer being explained.

Ticknor and Fields brought out a new edition, the true second edition, in 1868, printed from new plates and corrected from Thoreau's annotations in his copy of the 1849 book. These plates were used for reprints until 1894, though *A Week* did not require as many reprints during those years as did *Walden*.

Other editions of Thoreau's first book have not been numerous. Using the 1849 text, Walter Scott published an edition in London in 1889 and Walter Scott, Ltd., reissued it in 1895. These London editions had a prefatory note by Will H. Dircks,

and each of them had a title page that spelled *Merrimac* without the *k* that Thoreau had preferred. Houghton, Mifflin published the book from new plates as Volume I of the Riverside edition in 1893 and as Volume I of the Manuscript and Walden editions of 1906. Thomas Y. Crowell in 1911 and thereafter issued the book in different styles from the 1849 text. The same first edition text was used in 1921 as the basis for the only "textbook" edition, that in the *Modern Student's Library*, edited with an introduction by Odell Shepard and published by Charles Scribner's Sons. There is an undated edition with the 1849 text published by Hurst and Company of New York, undistinguished except for listing the author on the title page as Henry B. Thoreau rather than Henry D. Thoreau. The Crowell editions and the Hurst edition follow the first edition exactly, even to omitting the three lines dropped by accident from page 396 of the first edition. The Scribner edition restores the missing thirty-two words. There is a 1912 "New Edition" by George G. Harrap and Co. of London, and an edition using the 1868 text published in 1932 by J. M. Dent and Sons in London and E. P. Dutton and Company in New York.

These are all. *A Week* has not enjoyed the multiplicity of editions and abridgements and translations accorded to *Walden*. In fact, *A Week* has never been published in translation, never published with notes, and seldom with a critical introduction.

Finally, a word about the offshoot of *A Week* called *Friendship*. Thoreau, it will be recalled, inserted an essay on that subject into the manuscript of his book as late as mid-January, 1848. Written as a separate unit, it has been regarded as a unit by those who sought to publish a gift booklet or an example of press work. Since it is so unrepresentative of the book from which it is extracted, it is unfortunate that it is the only part of the larger book that most people read. *Friendship* is an excellent essay in itself and on its own account deserves its separate publication. It has been published as a book by at least eleven publishers in multiple series, so that my last count indicates thirty-six editions or issues

complicated by being bound in a variety of bindings—paper boards, silk, suède, vellum, and lambskin. I have found but two editions of the *Friendship* book not listed in published bibliographies: (1) *The Essay on Friendship* (East Aurora, New York, The Roycroft Shop, 1903) and (2) *Friendship* (New York, The Platt and Peck Co., n.d.). I am omitting other than separate publications of the essay. In combination with passages on love and marriage, the essay appeared in various styles with a 1910 copyright by Elbert Hubbard; and in combination with the essay *On Civil Disobedience* it appeared in the undated "Little Leather Library" series published in New York about 1915, and in the various "Pocket" series and "Blue Book" series of E. Haldeman-Julius. Of course the *Friendship* essay or part of it has been included many times in anthologies based on the friendship theme.

Perhaps this very popular offshoot of the greater book is not as much an anticlimax in the bibliographical history of *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* as would appear at first. To be sure, for every one who has read, or perhaps even heard of Thoreau's *A Week*, there must be a hundred who have had the gift of a copy of *Friendship* thrust upon them. There can be a fitness about even that. Whatever virtues *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* may have (and I think it has many) it has one virtue more subtle than all others. It was written at Walden Pond as a tribute to the dead brother whose loss was almost unbearable to Henry Thoreau, whose very name he could not bring himself to use throughout the entire book. Thoreau himself would have called his love for his brother "friendship." If but a part of his book is to be made into a booklet to be put into many hands, perhaps it is best that the booklet have the title *Friendship*.

Banvard's Mississippi Panorama Pamphlets

By JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

I

THE great moving panoramas of the mid-nineteenth century, painted scenic canvases often hundreds of yards in length, were once a very popular part of theatrical fare, and among these newsreels and travelogues not the least astounding were the competitive pictures of the Mississippi River produced by John Banvard, John Rowson Smith, Sam Stockwell, Henry Lewis, and Leon Pomarede in the 1840's. Show business of such magnitude demanded unusual advertising, and in the programs printed to entertain, interest, and instruct audiences there was consequently produced a literature much more informative than theater handbills or programs usually are. These pamphlets have eventually served a historical purpose, too, for with the disappearance of the panoramas themselves only the *Descriptions* have remained, like a tusk or a fragment of a skull, to tell us what these truly mammoth shows were like.

The moving panorama was a picture which sometimes attained a length of more than twelve hundred yards (actual, not claimed length) by four yards in height. On exhibition it was slowly unwound from one roller and wound onto another. While the scenes thus passed before the audience, a lecturer kept up a running comment and at times a handsome young lady at the pianoforte played appropriate selections. For the further assistance of the spectator a booklet was supplied which, after preliminary remarks, listed the titles of the successive scenes and gave a few or

many lines of information about each. In the Mississippi panoramas the scenes were painted in sequence from the upper river to New Orleans. The practice in showing the picture was to move it from right to left one evening and from left to right the next; consequently, the audience was warned to read the program backwards when the picture moved upstream.

Of this program-advertising literature there is more extant for John Banvard's picture than for all the other Mississippi River panoramas together, for he took a writer's interest in the job in addition to an artist's and an impresario's. Like a great deal of other theatrical publications these pamphlet descriptions were ephemeral—existing copies are few and widely scattered over the United States. However, by searching a number of libraries and particularly by the generous loan of a collection preserved by Miss Edith Banvard, youngest daughter of the artist, I have been able to piece together a bibliographical account of the Mississippi panorama which was only one of the many works this prolific and versatile man produced.

Banvard was the first of the Mississippi panoramists to exhibit. The New York-born artist opened his show in 1846 at Louisville where he had done his actual painting, but he soon carried his huge canvas to Boston in December of that year, where early in a seven-month run his picture supplied Longfellow with useful ideas for *Evangeline*.¹ Though it is not impossible that an edition had been prepared at Louisville as a program-guide for the spectator, the earliest issue I have found of his descriptive pamphlet was published at Boston with the cover-title of Banvard's *Geographical Panorama of the Mississippi River, with the story of Mike Fink, the Last of the Boatmen, a Tale of River Life*. The full title on the title page of the Banvard and the Saint Louis Mercantile Library copies reads: *Description of Banvard's Panorama of the Mississippi River, Painted on Three Miles [sic] of Canvas, exhibiting a*

¹ See *The Origins of Longfellow's "Evangeline,"* by Manning Hawthorne and H. W. L. Dana (B.S.A. PAPERS, 41: 187. 1947).

BANWARD'S
GEOGRAPHICAL PANORAMA

OF THE

MISSISSIPPI RIVER,

WITH THE

STORY OF MIKE FINK,

The Last of the Boatmen,

A TALE OF

RIVER LIFE.

Front Cover *Description* (Boston, 1847)

Courtesy Miss Edith Banward

View of Country 1200 Miles in Length, Extending from the Mouth of the Missouri River to the City of New Orleans, Being by far the Largest Picture ever executed by Man. The pamphlet was printed at Boston by John Putnam in 1847; it consists of forty-four pages, plus decorative paper covers of greenish-blue. Like the later editions of the *Description*, this pamphlet used an eight and one-half by five and one-half inch page.

The contents open with an "Introduction" (pages 3-4) in which the artist declared that the drawings for the panorama had been commenced in the spring of 1840; he then summarized some of the difficulties under which he worked. The next section is a six-page description headed "Mississippi River"; a footnote to the first line indicates that some credit for this must go to Flint, and a check of Timothy Flint's *A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States or the Mississippi Valley* (two volumes, Cincinnati, 1828) shows that Banvard drew his material word for word from Flint's description of that river (I: 131 ff.). It is possible, however, that he took the extracts from Samuel Cumings' *Western Pilot*, the 1834 (and other) editions of which carried the same passages as those Banvard used. Then comes "The Panorama," a twelve-page listing of the scenes that pass before the eyes of the audience. The fourth portion is entitled "Life on the Mississippi"; these ten pages were also borrowed from Flint (I: 229 ff.). The last eleven pages carry the Mike Fink story; this, of course, is Morgan Neville's famous account, first printed in Cincinnati in 1829 and here used without acknowledgement. It, too, may have been lifted from Cumings. The forty-fourth page is filled with testimonials obtained from steamboat captains and pilots, a United States engineer, the Mayor of Louisville, and the Secretary of the Kentucky Historical Society. The back cover quotes the opinions of two Louisville and five Boston publications. Since I have made clear that a good deal of the material of this pamphlet was borrowed, it is only fair to say that Banvard made no pretense of originality or claim to authorship except for

the first section, which he signed. In assembling the other matter of the pamphlet he merely showed very good editorial and advertising sense, for the passages chosen are filled with pertinent and interesting concrete detail.

The second extant *Description* was issued at London in 1848 (Banvard sailed from New York on September 29, 1848). This copy is known to me only from the British Museum Catalogue where its title is listed as *Description of Banvard's Panorama of the Mississippi & Missouri Rivers, extensively known as the "Three-Mile Painting," exhibiting a view of country over 3,000 miles in length, etc.* W. J. Golbourn was the printer; the pamphlet consisted of forty-eight pages, octavo. Apparently it included a version of the "Adventures of the Artist," of which more later.

The third issue is that printed by Golbourn (London) in 1849. The title page of the Newberry Library copy reads: *Description of Banvard's Panorama of the Mississippi & Missouri Rivers, extensively known as the "Three-Mile Painting," exhibiting a view of country over 3000 miles in length, extending from the mouth of the Yellow Stone to the city of New Orleans, being by far THE LARGEST PICTURE ever executed by man.* Apparently this 1849 pamphlet is identical with the 1848. Pages 3-17 present the "Adventures of the Artist." The next section, which closes on page 24, is devoted to "The Rivers," the portion describing the Missouri River being drawn from Flint's second volume in addition to the paragraphs about the Mississippi already referred to. Detailed description of scenes in "The Panorama" fills pages 25-35 (it is clear now that by 1848 Banvard had completed his Missouri River section but that by the time the pamphlet was reissued in 1849 he had not yet completed the Ohio River reel). "Life on the Mississippi" is repeated on pages 36-44. Resolutions offered in the Senate and House of Representatives at Boston certifying to the "emotions of pride and pleasure" which led those legislators to commend the "splendid painting, and its talented artist"

appear on page 45. Pages 46-48 carry the testimonials of Edward Everett, dated Cambridge, September 11, 1848; of J. Morehead, U. S. Engineer, at Louisville, November 8, 1846; of Abbott Lawrence at Boston, September 19, 1848; of the Mayor of Louisville; and of various rivermen.

The fourth issue was that printed at London by P. P. Thoms in 1850. Although the British Museum Catalogue cites this printer as *Thomas*, both cover and title page of the Missouri Historical Society (Saint Louis) copy carry *Thoms*. The cover-title reads: *Banvard's Royal Geographical Panorama of the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio Rivers* (the command performance at Windsor had taken place in April, 1849). The title page reads: *Description of Banvard's Panorama of the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio Rivers, extensively known as the "Three-Mile Painting," exhibiting a view of country over 3000 Miles in Length, extending from the Mouth of the Yellow Stone on the Missouri, and the Little Miami, on the Ohio, to the City of New Orleans, on the Mississippi, being by far THE LARGEST PICTURE ever executed by Man.* The contents vary quite a bit from those of the Boston issue. The thirty-two page pamphlet (plus covers) opens with a section paged iii-vi which is devoted to the scene descriptions for the Missouri River and the Mississippi as far as the Ohio. Next we find a similar account of the lower Mississippi on pages 1-8 and of the Ohio on pages 8-10. The "Adventures of the Artist" fills pages 11-25, and the remaining portion presents the account entitled "The Rivers." On the rear cover, both sides, are testimonials and blurbs which include paragraphs from the London *Times* and Bath and Bristol papers.

Still another London edition of this pamphlet was printed in 1852 by Reed and Pardon of Paternoster Row. The title on cover and on title page (Miss Banvard's copy) is the same as for the Thoms printing in 1850. Of the thirty-two pages of contents fourteen are given over to "The Panorama" and fifteen to "Ad-

DESCRIPTION
OF
BANVARD'S PANORAMA
OF THE
MISSISSIPPI, MISSOURI,
AND
OHIO RIVERS,
EXTENSIVELY KNOWN AS THE
"THREE-MILE PAINTING,"
EXHIBITING A VIEW OF COUNTRY OVER
3000 MILES IN LENGTH,
EXTENDING FROM THE
MOUTH OF THE YELLOW STONE ON THE MISSOURI,
AND THE LITTLE MIAMI, ON THE OHIO,
TO THE
CITY OF NEW ORLEANS, ON THE MISSISSIPPI,
BEING BY FAR
THE LARGEST PICTURE
EVER EXECUTED BY MAN.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY REED AND PARDON, PATERNOSTER ROW.
—
1852.

Courtesy Miss Edith Banvard

What the Poets and Others Said.

MR. BANVARD, in painting the Mississippi, is the *originator and inventor* of this enormous class of Paintings.—*Edward Everett, to the President of the Royal Geographical Society, London.*

WE want a national epic, superior to all others, as Banvard's Panorama is to all other paintings—the largest in the world.—*Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, in Cavanaugh.*

EVERYBODY should visit Egyptian Hall, not only to see the beautiful paintings, but to see MR. BANVARD; for in his peculiar manner of illustrating his subjects, he is a greater curiosity than his pictures.—*Charles Dickens, in Household Words.*

BANVARD.—In the current number of the *PEOPLES JOURNAL*, we publish the biography of this most wonderful man and his remarkable paintings.—*William Howitt, in People's Journal, London.*

MR. BANVARD is a remarkable man.—*Manchester Guardian.*

WE trust our British artists will not be lead away by MR. BANVARD's wonderful success in London, and adopt his "gigantic dodge" in painting enormous pictures—it would certainly create a rise in canvas.—*Punch, London.*

MR. BANVARD is not only a great traveller and lecturer; he is also a poet, a painter and a wit.—*Geo. P. Morris.*

MR. BANVARD has refuted the assertions of foreigners, that America had produced no artist commensurate with the grandeur of its scenery.—*N. P. Willis.*

WINDSOR CASTLE. April, 1849.

HER Majesty has directed me to convey to you this slight testimonial of the great delight she experienced on witnessing your great paintings, in St. George's Hall, on Saturday evening last.

BOWLES, Master of the Household.

Oh, that I had the skill of a BANVARD, that I might depict the glowing scenery of the Nile, as he did of the Mississippi.—*Bayard Taylor, Letter from Egypt.*

Press of J. E. Simonds, 50 Bromfield Street, Boston, Mass.

Rear Cover *Adventures* (London, Reed and Pardon, n.d.)

Courtesy Miss Edith Banvard

ventures of the Artist." The thirty-second page carries the testimonials of Edward Everett and Abbott Lawrence, late and incumbent ministers to St. James's as well as that of James Silk Buckingham, who, having visited the Mississippi Valley in 1840, could personally vouch to Englishmen for the accuracy of the picture. Rear cover, inside and out, carried the Louisville, Boston, and New York press comments, as well as the laudatory statements of the English newspapers. There were some slight variants in the text of the "Adventures."²

² The text of pp. 4-5 follows:

INDIAN ENCAMPMENT—

And the Sioux, dancing their war dance upon the

GRASSY PLAINS,

Which stretch far away in the distance.

INDIANS HUNTING BUFFALOES.

Large numbers of these animals are taken yearly merely for their hides, which the Indians sell to the white traders.

VILLAGE OF THE DEAD,

Or an aboriginal cemetery. Here will be seen the curious manner the Indians dispose of their dead.

GRAND PRAIRIE—

With its tall waving grass, and myriads of wild flowers—one of the most beautiful sights in nature.

PRAIRIE ON FIRE—

Burning away in the distance, as far as the eye can reach.

INDIAN VILLAGE (by Moonlight)

And the return of the Grand Détour.

KNIFE RIVER,

And the Square Hills. In the fore-ground is Mr. Banvard, seated upon a log, with his rifle by him, and his little skiff moored by the bank of the stream. Upon the gum tree, near him, will be seen one of the gorgeous tints of American foliage.

INDIAN RUINS,

A deserted village of the Mandans, an extinct tribe.

TETON ISLANDS—

And the steamer General Taylor.

BRICK KILNS.

These are some very peculiar cliffs, of different coloured clays, but principally red, which give them the name. The rains are washing them down in many fanciful shapes, not unlike the stalactites of a subterranean cavern.

One more edition of this pamphlet is to be cited. After 1852 the importance of the Mississippi River picture obviously declined. It had enjoyed great success, but it had been exhibited for so long a period that public interest in it was nearly exhausted. In the meantime (1851 or 1852) Banvard had made a trip to the Holy Land and had painted another huge picture which he soon brought to America for exhibition. However, ten years later the Civil War caused a revival of interest in the Mississippi picture, and it was brought out again for showing, cut down from its European size but with new features. An edition of the pamphlet was now printed by L. H. Biglow in New York in 1862, the cover-title of which reads: *Description of Banvard's Geographical Painting of the Mississippi River, extensively known as the "Three-*

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

Below the "brick kilns" the Missouri empties its waters into the Mississippi.

A short distance above the mouth of the Missouri stands the town of Alton, situated at the base of a beautiful bluff, which rolls in on the river in a graceful outline, clearly defined against the bright sky beyond.

Immediately in the foreground, under the shade of some beautiful trees, is an encampment of Shawnee Indians, the warriors reclining lazily upon the green sward, while their squaws are preparing their rude repast.

Below the junction of the Missouri stands out, in fine relief, some very beautiful islands, clad in the brightest verdure.

We now travel down the Mississippi in a southerly direction, viewing the western bank, until we arrive at the mouth of the Ohio. Below its junction with the Missouri, the Mississippi has no wider channel than above, but its depth and rapidity of current are much increased. Appearing on the opposite bank is the

CITY OF ST. LOUIS.

This is one of the oldest, and first settled towns in the Mississippi Valley. It was settled and occupied by the French, until the country was purchased by the American government. A great number of steamboats, and river craft of all descriptions, bound to all points of the boatable waters of the Mississippi, are seen at all seasons of the year lying at the landing. Miners, trappers, hunters, adventurers, emigrants, and people of all character and languages, meet here, and disperse in pursuit of their various objects, in every direction, some even beyond the remotest points of civilization. Population about 100,000.

UNITED STATES ARSENAL.

It is beautifully situated on a gentle declivity, immediately below the city, at the foot of "the bar." A short distance below the arsenal commence some rocky bluffs, upon which are situated, very prominently, several lofty shot towers; they have a very striking appearance when viewed from the river.

Mile Picture," with new additions of the Naval and Military Operations on that River, exhibiting a view of country 1,500 Miles in Length, from the Mouth of the Missouri to the Balize. The "Adventures of the Artist" filled pages 3-18; the description of "The Painting," pages 19-27; "War Section," pages 28-29; and "Life on the Mississippi" (once more), pages 30-38. There were no testimonials or blurbs. The rear cover was decorated with a representation of Glenada, the house which Banvard built near New York from the very considerable profits of the Mississippi picture.

II

I have said that in most of these issues Banvard included a section entitled "Adventures of the Artist." Historically and biographically this is an important contribution, for it gives us knowledge both about the making of the panorama and about Banvard's life, which we cannot obtain elsewhere. From the point of view of the press agent it is excellent material. Banvard's story is told in lively style, beginning with the legendary descent of the family from the "Prisoner of Chillon" through the French Protestant grandfather who settled in New York to young Banvard's early display of latent talent and the decay of family fortunes that sent him West. His experiences as a young man earning his way in Louisville, the floating diorama operated by him on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers which took in more potatoes than dollars, the inspiration to paint the biggest picture in the world, the pains and difficulties he underwent in procuring his sketches, the labor of producing his enormous painting, the necessity of creating adequate machinery to show his canvas, the ultimate overwhelming success on exhibition, are among the scenes and episodes vividly reported. Although Banvard's name does not appear on these pamphlets as author, it is more than likely that this man who produced seventeen hundred poems among the other works of a long life was his own anonymous biographer.

There are enough variants of this account to make it a bibliographical puzzle by itself.

The germ of this document is found in the two-page personal statement signed by Banvard which served to open the Boston 1847 *Description*. He must very soon have realized the excellent possibilities for publicity that lay in his unusual experiences, for during that year we can see the idea grow rapidly. On December 18, 1847 the (New York) *Home Journal* of George P. Morris and Nathaniel P. Willis carried under the headline "The Wonder of the World" an article on Banvard's panorama which was then showing at "the new Panorama building, next to Niblo's," on Broadway. "In former numbers," the editors wrote, "we published a biography of the artist, and the entire history of his painting. These articles, and the letter of Passed Midshipman Woodworth, on the same subject have been copied with avidity by most of the leading English and French journals." Here then is the actual beginning of the "Adventures of the Artist." Unfortunately, there is no complete file of the *Home Journal*, and the articles referred to are not to be found in available copies.

These news stories, however, must have appeared not later than midsummer 1847, for portions of the material eventually used in the pamphlet life were printed in English periodicals during the late summer and autumn; they must have been extracted from these American press notices. At some time near the middle of the year *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* (VII: 395-398) ran an article entitled "A Painting Three Miles Long," which was reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* on September 25, 1847 (IV: 594-596). Much of the material in this article was later to be used in the "Adventures." On September 4, 1847 in *Howitt's Journal* of London (II: 145-148) appeared an account headed "John Banvard's Great Picture: Life on the Mississippi." A considerable portion of this story was drawn from the Boston *Description*, including the "Life on the Mississippi" section, but it

contained also a recognizable version of the "Adventures," including the Woodworth letter. There is an additional interest in this article because the editor placed at its head "an engraving of one of those peculiar boats, with its 'jolly flat-boatmen,' [a crude cut of Bingham's picture] for which we are indebted to a kind American friend, who has also furnished us with the present article." This story was likewise reprinted in the *Living Age* on December 11, 1847 (XV: 511). The next step seems to have been the final organization of the material into the section entitled "The Adventures of the Artist" in the London 1848 *Description* and again in the 1849 edition of this title.

By the latter year the "Adventures" was elevated to the status of independent issue as a pamphlet. The first edition of *Banvard, or, the Adventures of an Artist. An O'er True Tale* was printed in London by John K. Chapman and Company in 1849. It consists of twenty-four pages about seven and one-half by four and one-half inches plus paper covers. The account of the "Adventures of an Artist" is prefaced by a statement that the material had been compiled from "Howitt's Journal, London, Chambers Edinburgh Journal, and Morris and Willis' Home Journal, New York"; it is followed by testimonials from Edward Everett, Abbott Lawrence, J. S. Buckingham, Charles Dickens, and others. The front cover carries an atrocious engraving, presumably of Banvard; the rear cover was given over to William Wallace's poem "Banvard." It should be noted that when the "Adventures" appears as a section in a *Description* the title reads "of the artist"; whenever it is published independently the title reads "of an artist." In the *Description* issued in London in 1850 the "Adventures" was reprinted.

A French edition was printed by Typographie Dondey-Dupré, in Paris, in 1850, under the brief title: *Banvard, ou les Aventures d'un Artiste*. This is a twenty-two page pamphlet (plus covers) with a page six and three-quarters by four and one-eighth

inches. The front cover uses the engraving of Banvard, here credited to "le journal americain de Londres"; the text occupies fourteen pages; various certificates four more pages (one of these is from N. C. Rives, American Minister to France, and is dated Paris, June 7, 1850); the rear cover carries what was presumably a Banvard coat of arms.

The next appearance of this sketch is possibly that in the *Description* printed by Reed and Pardon (London, 1852) to which I have already referred.

I now come to a rather curious copy in Miss Banvard's collection of her father's pamphlet publications. This is a separate issue entitled on the cover page *Banvard; or the Adventures of an Artist; A biographical Sketch*. It is a twenty-page pamphlet, counting the gray paper covers, and has no title page. It was printed by Reed and Pardon of London, but no date of printing appears. It is later than the French issue, for it includes the testimonial of Rives. It obviously was published after Banvard's trip to the Holy Land, for it carries at the very close an additional paragraph in fine print referring briefly to his startling adventures on that journey—this paragraph did *not* appear in the "Adventures" section of the Reed and Pardon *Description* of 1852. But most curious of all, although the front cover bears the statement that it was printed by Reed and Pardon of Paternoster Row, the rear cover apparently came from the press of J. E. Simonds, 50 Bromfield Street, Boston, Massachusetts. It would seem likely that Banvard had brought a supply of these pamphlets back to the United States. The front cover carries a picture of a man in oriental costume—presumably Banvard himself as dressed in Palestine. There are slight variations in text, the most obvious of which is the quotation of six lines from *The Prisoner of Chillon* in the passage linking Banvard with the family de Bonnivard.

One more pamphlet printed in London in 1852 carries this material. This is (to quote the cover-title) a *Description of Ban-*

vard's pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The thirty-two page pamphlet (plus covers) gives three pages to "Palestine," two more to the "Church of the Holy Sepulcher," thirteen to the "Itinerary," and sixteen to reprinting the "Adventures of the Artist." There are slight variations in the text. The most interesting difference is that more than half a page at the close is given to the summary of Banvard's exciting trip to the Holy Land.

The final appearance of the "Adventures" in this series of pamphlets is in the 1862 New York *Description*. It, too, carries the passage from Byron but omits the paragraph about the trip to Palestine. After this the Mississippi newsreel was stored away until it disappeared more than twenty years later. Today only these pamphlets remain to tell us what Banvard's huge canvas was like.

The Biography of a Forgotten Book— Pownall's *Topographical Description of* ... *North America*

By LOIS MULKEARN*

IT was only after I began to prepare this paper that I saw the wisdom of a member of your Society who suggested the title on your program. No doubt he was thinking of your well being, and felt that you would have at least the pleasure of curiosity, if not pleasure derived from the paper itself. However, if the next twenty-five minutes are as arid land around an oasis, let me assure you it is your present reader and not the topic. For Thomas Pownall, the author of the book we are discussing, was anything but a dull individual; and this forgotten book, his *Topographical Descriptions of Such Parts of North America as are Contained in the Annexed or Lewis Evans Map of 1755 of the Middle British Colonies in North America*, is anything but a dull book to those who are interested either in colonial American history or early Americana. Excepting Henry Stevens' work, most of what has been written about this book has been done by members of your Society. Students, bibliographers, and bibliophiles, all owe a great debt to them. And I want to add my own humble thanks at this time. Fortunately, there has survived throughout the years, since 1784, a revision and enlargement of the original work. This revision is a combination of the printed 1776 edition and Pownall's 1779 to 1784 additions, written in his own hand and comprising fifty-six pages, mostly foolscap. In addition the wide margins on many of the printed pages are almost completely covered

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with holograph additions and corrections; words, phrases, and sentences are changed or crossed out. Even the manuscript additions show many changes made by the author. The few remarks made here today are derived chiefly from this, as yet unpublished, edition and from interpretations of the author's letters when studied in the light of this particular unpublished work.

Any lengthy recitation of Thómas Pownall's life would serve no particular purpose here. It is perhaps enough to say that he was an Englishman, graduated from Cambridge in 1743 at the age of twenty-one; and for the next ten years, until 1753, he underwent a rigorous training in colonial affairs in the office of the Board of Trade and Plantations. In 1753 he came to America. During his short stay here, 1753 to 1760, a period of seven years, he was Secretary to the Royal Governor of New York, was Governor of Massachusetts, Lieutenant Governor of New Jersey, Captain General, Vice Admiral, and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's forces in those colonies. After his return to England in 1760 he served in an official capacity on the continent, and from 1767 to 1780 was a Member of Parliament. In 1784, after his second marriage, he withdrew from active political life and traveled a good deal. Up to this time his writings were for the most part of a political nature, but after his retirement he turned to antiquities and scientific subjects. Of his last years, death and burial, I can tell you but little. There is in Nichol's *Literary Anecdotes* an item concerning his desire for a last formal procession: "He left directions to be buried in Walcot Church, Bath, and that he might be laid in an oaken coffin, without ornament or inscription; that eight men should carry him to the grave, without any pall; and that a new suit of cloathes should be given to them of any color they might like. He was to be attended only by his housekeeper and manservant . . . his body was opened and it was ascertained that his death was not occasioned by any decay of the system, but by a gangrene that had formed about the heart which had stopped the circulation." At eighty-five such was the end of

the useful life of this proud, intelligent, and clever man. These descriptive adjectives were used to describe Pownall by both his friends and adversaries; and as I read further you will probably agree, although they were sometimes applied with both malice and forethought, they were nevertheless appropriate.

On October 6, 1753, when Pownall was thirty-one, he emerges on the American horizon here in New York City. For it was on that date that the ship bringing to America the newly appointed Royal Governor of New York, Sir Danvers Osborn, sailed out of the open sea and into New York Bay. The following day, Sunday, October seventh, the ship docked in New York Harbor. Thomas Pownall came officially as Sir Danvers' secretary; unofficially, perhaps as a sort of technical adviser to the well-connected but inexperienced Sir Danvers. Some of Pownall's adversaries here in America went so far as to accuse him of being an unofficial spy for the Board of Trade. Of all this only the date, 1753, is important to us in respect to the book to be discussed, for Pownall's experiences from the time he sailed into New York Bay until he finally left our shores in 1760 are reported and commented upon in his *Topographical Descriptions*. It would be an injustice both to the memory of Governor Pownall and to you for me to paraphrase his own remarks about his first view of America. Of New York, Pownall wrote: "This was the first land of America that I saw and here I first landed. My eye was upon the watch and everything struck it. My imagination was all suspense and everything made a vivid impression on my mind." And as they sailed through the Narrows (to continue the description in his own words), "The eye expands its view again into a still more pleasant second bay, a kind of amphitheatre to appearances circular, of about 12 miles diameter, this being constantly covered with boats, sloops, and every kind of shipping, passing and repassing, through it and across it in all directions, seems all alive with bustle and business."

Affairs moved rapidly for young Pownall, for he held his po-

sition as secretary only from Sunday to Friday when it was inadvertently terminated by the untimely death of his employer, Sir Danvers. On that Friday morning the Governor was found dead. He had hung himself from the top of the garden fence of a friend's house where he was staying. Sir Danvers was so grief-stricken by the death of his wife, sister to The Lord Halifax, that he could not overcome this grief even in new surroundings and with new responsibilities on his shoulders.

But this vivacious and aggressive young man lost no time in securing his position in America. Some of his contemporaries accused him of busying himself with other people's business. On the surface that sometimes did seem to be the case. For the chain of events, when forged, seemed to show that he did have an all-consuming desire to know more and more about the colonies. Whether this desire was noble or ignoble is not for me to say. From correspondence with the Board of Trade and Plantations one could make the deduction that his contemporaries were not entirely wrong in accusing him of being a busybody. The tone of his writing on the death of his superior, and the vigor with which he pursued his intelligence gathering make one believe that perhaps he did have some sort of secret instructions from the Board of Trade. His curiosity or interest in the colonies cut one of the most enigmatic facets of Pownall's life—his friendship with Lewis Evans and the relationship between their writings, Evans' *Analysis* on one hand and his *Topographical Descriptions* on the other. This relationship has long been a subject for hypothesis and research. Henry Stevens, Dr. Wroth, and Dr. Gipson have covered it extremely well. There are, however, a few additional items, derived from sources unknown at the time these scholars did their writing. Also, inferences in Pownall's known writings, in some cases, are transformed into strong clues when coupled with statements in this new edition of the *Topographical Descriptions*. It seems that Evans met Pownall soon after the latter came to this country, for there is in the Historical Society of Pennsyl-

vania a letter from Evans to Pownall dated March 25, 1754. This letter is an answer to queries, which (to quote Evans) "You proposed to me at New York." The content of the letter leads one to believe that some time had elapsed between the time the queries were proposed and the answer was written, and so it is safe to assume that Evans met Pownall less than three months after his arrival in New York. And (to go on with the contents of the letter), it does show that he was interested in specific information about the colonies. The queries directed to Evans concerned the manner of farming in Pennsylvania, and some of this information, volunteered by Evans, is contained in Pownall's *Topographical Descriptions*.

Since Pownall visited Philadelphia in the autumn of 1754 and again in 1755, when he remained in that city from April to the end of summer, it is only natural to assume that the mutual interests of these two men would draw them together. Evans dedicated his famous *Map of 1755* to Pownall, and in that dedication paid great tribute to Pownall's knowledge of the colonies. In the preface to the *Analysis* written to explain the *Map*, the author speaks of different Itinerary Observations. Pownall's reprint of this statement bears a footnote saying that the Itinerary Observations mentioned were his own. And so if not outright collaboration, there must have been at least some exchange of ideas. The 1754 journey to Philadelphia, his sojourn there from the latter part of April 1755, when he returned from Braddock's conference at Alexandria, until late summer at least, gave ample time for the free exchange of ideas and information that must have taken place. No doubt Pownall lingered on in the Quaker City until the *Analysis* was published. In the Darlington Library there is a presentation copy with the autograph "For Dr. Clark in Boston, presented by his humble Servant Lewis Evans, Philadelphia August 18, 1755." And in The John Carter Brown Library there is another autographed presentation copy of the same date to John Pownall. Since the autographed copies were for Thomas

Pownall's friend Dr. Clark and his brother John Pownall, and since they are not inscribed as to a friend, I would like to think that Pownall suggested these presentation copies and carried them to Boston himself. The special copy of the *Analysis* in the Darlington Library is in original marbled paper covers, with a holograph guide or index to the important places on the map. This index, set up in neatly ruled columns, comprises about four pages, all in Evans' own handwriting.

And now one last thought on the Pownall-Evans association. Pownall may not have always been an honest man, but he was perhaps more honest than are many writers of today, for he did enclose in quotation marks all of the Evans *Analysis* that he included in his *Topographical Descriptions*. Yet I am puzzled about one particular thing: Why did he not include the preface in quotes? Was it because he considered his work merely a reissue of the Evans *Analysis*? This I can scarcely believe, for he refers several times to "My" (Pownall's) *Topographical Descriptions*. This fact—no quotes in the preface—became more a matter of curiosity to me while preparing this paper, for in a letter to Sir William Johnson of October 1755 are found evidences that Pownall did write at least one preface which he did not sign. To quote from the letter, writes Pownall to Johnson, "Every thing that one friend can do for another I will do for you, when I become a friend to a man, 'tis with my whole heart believe me. I can see no impropriety if you think it proper (but before 'tis done I will take advice from home) to have published your late treaty. The benefit of which Mr. Wraxal is intituled to & shou'd have. It will sell so as to raise more money than w^d appear at first sight. I will take y^e trouble to see it done, & will (without putting my name in public.) write a preface to it pointing out y^e leading matters to it & y^e former state of Indian politics. Together with a short account of y^e Indians their gov^t their method of treaties &c. Give me your answer to this, I mean to make it point out your services by an induction of y^e strongest sort.—& to putt your interest on

a right botom." This work is *An Account of Conferences Held, and Treaties Made, Between Major-General Sir William Johnson and the Chief Sachems and Warriours of the Indian Nations in North America* (London, Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand, 1756). The preface in this book does include all the things that Pownall said he would say, and if he wrote that preface, and I believe he did, he did keep his name out of it, true to promise. Writing anonymous prefaces was fresh in Pownall's mind when he wrote to Johnson in October 1755. Undoubtedly Pownall was in Philadelphia when the preface to the *Analysis* was written. Is it not possible that Pownall wrote this preface?

The question of authorship of Evans' *Essay Number II* or answer to accusations made against him in an open letter in the New York *Mercury* is a matter too lengthy to be discussed in this short time. Yet the fact that until Evans' death in 1756 Pownall's name was linked with his should at least be mentioned.

And now for the book itself. I speak of the revised and enlarged edition, perhaps conceived as early as 1754; probably had taken some definite form at the time of the publication of Lewis Evans' *Analysis* in 1755; first published in 1776; revised in 1779; further revised, enlarged, and prepared for publication in 1784 by Pownall himself; edited and annotated in 1947-1948 by the present writer, to be published in 1949.

This edition is part of Lewis Evans' *Analysis* quoted by Pownall and his own descriptions of the British Colonies, enriched by the author's contemporary and retrospective comments. The contemporary or 1754 comments were written with a freshness of enthusiasm inspired by first impressions of a new and, to quote Pownall himself, "Most wonderful land on the globe," while the retrospective or 1784 comments came from bitter disappointment in his own government for having so blundered, in his estimation, that America was lost to England forever.

Less than three months after Pownall's arrival in America he had sought from Evans information about the colonies. In 1754,

less than a year after his arrival, one finds him writing to Sir William Johnson, asking him the meaning and etymology of many Indian names of places. Also, his own statements show that he kept a careful journal of all his travels, and that he never traveled without instruments with which to measure elevation and distance. He made pen and ink sketches of extraordinary natural features of the country. In addition, Pownall drew information about the topography of the back country from the journals of the many scouts or rangers that were sent out to reconnoiter in the No Man's Land between the British and French settlements in New England.

The lengthy additions, which comprise about one-fourth of the book, having been taken from his own 1754 and 1755 journals, change the time value of this work. The new edition contains more information on this early period than on the 1755 to 1760 period. However, Pownall's numerous retrospective comments make it a valuable 1784 commentary on the colonial period. A few quotations extracted from the new edition soon to be published show clearly this fusion of early description and retrospective comment. The long descriptions of buildings and streets are of 1754 and 1755 vintage, while his 1784 pleasant and nostalgic "asides" not only amuse but enlighten as well. For example, "The account so farr as respects the navigation of the Port & Harbour of New York I shall give as I received it from the regulated pilots of that port signed by them in the year 1755 which I brought over to England for the information of our government, which at that time would not be persuaded that large shippes of warr could with safety enter there. The general descriptions of these as well as of the city I take from my own remarks and notes." He continues, ". . . This pleasant city standing in a most charming situation, & enjoying the most delicious climate in the world was inhabited by an hospitable cheerfull social people living by their extensive fortune landed & commercial & from the plenty & cheapness of every article of living bet-

ter & more hospitably without parades than I ever saw any people in the old world live."

One could not speak for a moment on this subject without mentioning what is, to me at least, the most telling sentence in regard to Pownall's sincere love and admiration for America. After a factual and most vivid topographical description of the Connecticut Valley, he concludes with this personal reflection, "How other people are made I don't know and what the reader may think of me I don't care, but I declare I could never view this scene of happiness nor do I now write y^e account of it, without an overflowing of heart which puts a tear in my eye which tear that was sweet is now become a bitter one when I reflect that that happiness has been destroyed; and most likely can never exist there again in the same degree." To borrow Henry Stevens' remark, may I say, "Shade of Pownall!" If the Connecticut Valley raid of Revolutionary days seemed so dreadful to him, what would he have thought of Warsaw, Berlin, or the London blitz?

Yes, as it stands, this book is indeed a queer mixture of time and attitudes, and will require some mental gymnastics to keep the time element on even keel. This matter, it is hoped, is cleared somewhat by the explanatory footnotes, but to alter the original text in any way would destroy the eighteenth-century flavor of the writing. And perhaps some statement should be made at this time about the present editing. Utmost care was taken to preserve this work as Pownall's. The footnotes, numbering upwards of a thousand, were designed to identify persons and events mentioned by the author, to give bibliographic information about the many maps, charts, and surveys used by either Pownall or Evans, and to give a modern equivalent of obsolete eighteenth-century names of places and topographic features.

The first or 1776 edition has but one illustration, Pownall's revision of the Evans map of 1755. The present edition, soon to be published, will contain six illustrations—the frontispiece, facsimile of an original heretofore unpublished and perhaps un-

known pen and ink sketch of Penobscot Bay; three facsimiles of holograph additions; reproductions of Romans' *Map of the Southern Colonies*, and the Pownall revision of Lewis Evans' *Map of 1755*. This last named map bears the following holograph additions: (1) the legend—"For the use of the members of the Reading Society—Fletchers"; (2) the line of demarcation of 1783; (3) additions of names of American cities; for example, Washington (this correction must have been made after 1790, the date Washington was named); (4) Pownall's remark, "I am ashamed to make this remark that the adroitness of the Americans taking the advantage of the ignorance of our ministers and their negotiators at the treaty of peace of 1783, was in a more special manner exemplified in the settling the boundary between Nova Scotia & the now United States. By which the Massachusetts State not only had gained a large tract of fine land bordering on Pasamaqua Bay, as also the Bay, and Island Grand Manan and several lesser islands but likewise an extent into British America so as to possess a part of our highway from Halifax to Quebec, beside the Fort Detroit & Niagara in Upper Canada."

Of the original 1776 impression there were 1,000 copies, 900 of which were sewn in blue papers, 112 left unsewn. According to a letter from Pownall to Franklin, dated May 13, 1782, 776 copies had been sold for 8/6 apiece; 96 were given to Governor Pownall; 12 to Sam Wharton; and 14 copies were still available for sale. Cost of production was £300 and receipts for the book were, according to the publisher, £312; but Pownall's or Franklin's accounting, scribbled on the back of the letter, brings it to £329. The cost of production was increased by £43 by the destruction of twelve of the seventeen sheets in a fire at the Savoy before the job was completed. The book was widely advertised, for £27, more than half the cost of printing, was spent for advertising.

But circumstantial evidence leads one to believe that there were two impressions of the 1776 edition. On the second sheet

of this letter of May 13, 1782, to Franklin, Pownall makes the surprising remark that he has "packed up this day 756 copies sewed and 112 unsewed which Mr. Bridges of Pater Noster Row will forward to Mr. Bowen as you desired & I hope you will advise thereof." And in the postscript, adds Pownall, "I am puzzled about sending the plate. I don't care to venture it in the package with the printed copies I do not know how farr it may endanger their safety in the passage." This letter explains to me Pownall's reference to "last impression," which he makes in one of his lengthy additions. For 900 copies sold or given away and 112 copies unsewn and on hand accounts for the first impression of 1,000. Unless there was a second printing, how could he on May 13, 1782, send Franklin 756 copies in addition to the 112 unsewn ones?

As for the provenance of the volume, letters to Franklin prove that he did a new edition, and that he wished to have it published in French. Why this was not done is unknown to the present writer. Comparison of handwriting shows that the book just edited was altered by Pownall himself. From 1785 the whereabouts of the volume was unknown, until it was listed in a Bangs auction catalogue for the sale of Mr. Welford's books here in New York in 1854. At that time it was sold to George Watson Pratt for \$53. Colonel Pratt died in 1862, and in 1868 the book again appeared on the market, sold by the same auction house, Bangs Brothers, being listed in their auction catalogue of February 23, 1868. The priced and named catalogue in the New York Public Library shows that it was sold to J. S. for \$100. Now Joseph Sabin was at that time agent for William Darlington of Pittsburgh. Unfortunately, Darlington's journal of purchase of books does not include those purchased at auction, and so one can only speculate that Mr. Sabin bought that volume for Mr. Darlington. That he purchased the book and used it there is sufficient evidence. In his *Christopher Gist Journals* he states that Thomas Pownall had the famous leaden plate which was sunk

by the French along the Ohio on August 3, 1749. Mr. Pownall so states in his revision. Also among Mr. Darlington's notes there are items copied from the composite. Although the evidence is only circumstantial, one is inclined to believe that Mr. Darlington paid \$100 for this book on February 23, 1868.

A brief summary of bibliographic information about the book:

1. The new edition opens a new field for those interested in pursuing the question of Evans-Pownall collaboration.

2. There are statements which substantiate the fact that there was more than one impression of the 1776 edition. The question now is: Were there any changes in the second impression?

3. Pownall may have written anonymous prefaces for books.

4. About 1784, Pownall terminated his feeling of responsibility to the estate of Lewis Evans.

5. And, last but not least, there is being added to the bibliographical field a new edition of an important, useful work by this clever, proud, and intelligent friend of America—Thomas Pownall.

Bibliographical Notes

Seven Variants in "The Chastising of God's Children"

The first book printed by Wynkyn de Worde following the death of his master, William Caxton, is commonly presumed to be *The Chastising of God's Children*.¹ This work is of some typographical importance as it is the first book with a title-page to be produced at Westminster; in other respects, however, it shows that Wynkyn adhered closely to the printing practices of his predecessor. Specifically, this book contains a number of variant settings of type; these, in turn, appear to have escaped the notice of the very many bibliographers who have described the volume.² There are seven of these variants to which my attention was drawn; six of them pair off very conveniently and illustrate three different sources of origin for such variants, while the remaining one concerns a major alteration of text. Thus, though six of these stop-press corrections provide no startling *variae lectiones*, they are of significance in showing some of the circumstances which brought such misprints into being and the manner in which the early printer was able to deal with them. The seventh instance involves an interesting philological problem.

Turned Letters

sign. G1^v, col. a, last line: "denocōn as god wyll sende for þ^t ti||me"
This state is found in the Morgan (PML 784) and Folger copies.³ In the other Morgan copy (PML 722) and in the British Museum and Huntington examples, the first word has been corrected to read "deuocōn."

¹ Caxton, it is believed, died in 1491; compare W. J. B. Crotch, *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton* (London, 1928 [EETS, OS 176]), p. cxxiv. Qualified bibliographers have ascribed the *Chastising* to every year between 1491 and 1495.

² Compare: Hain-Copinger 4920; Gesamtkatalog 6583; Duff 85; Morgan 722; Ames-Herbert I: 102; Ames-Dibdin I: 356; Dibdin (Bibl. Spenc.) IV: 336; Blades¹ 90; Blades² 98; Sayle 61; Bølling 744; Pepys, p. 15, no. 2051¹; Leeds (Brotherton), p. 183; Rylands Catalogue, p. 20; etc.

³ For the readings of the Folger copy, I am most obliged to Dr. James G. McManaway, while Mr. Herman R. Mead has kindly supplied me with those from the Huntington example.

sign. H2, col. b, line 13: "man in to erronr of conscyence &"

This reading is found in both the Morgan copies, while the Folger, British Museum and Huntington examples correctly print "errour."

The early printers seem to have experienced considerable difficulty in printing the characters "n" and "u," often misprinting the one for the other. It is extremely difficult to tell in many cases whether this was the result of incorrect setting (that is, putting a letter in upside down) or due to incorrect distribution of type when a previous forme was broken up (for example, putting an "n" in the "u" compartment); the "n" is often practically identical with the "u" save for being turned the other way.

Omitted Letters

sign. D5^v, col. a, line 32: "or charite. or besy prayer be Joyfu"

The line as given above is found in three copies: PML 784, Huntington, and Folger. In the other Morgan example, as well as in the one found in the British Museum, the last word is "Joyful."

sign. F1^v, col. b, line 7: "all goostli temptacōns in pecyall"

This reading is shared by PML 722 and the British Museum and Huntington volumes, while Folger and PML 784 correctly present "specyall."

Although these two cases appear to be alike, it seems highly probable that the misprints resulted from different causes. It is likely, in the first instance, that the letter "l" had dropped out or had been jerked out by the ink-ball, a phenomenon particularly noted by McKerrow.⁴ The second example is the apparent result of an error in type-setting; when the printer discovered the omission, he supplied the necessary letter "s." Thus, for the first variant, the earlier state is that with the reading "Joyful," while the earlier state in the second instance is the one represented by the reading "pecyall."

Metathesis

sign. E5, col. b, lines 35-36: "... Of this af||ccyonfe I speke noo more/"

The British Museum's volume is the only one of those copies here discussed to have this line in a corrected state; it reads: "... Of this af||fecyon I speke noo more/." The other copies here noted all have the earlier, incorrect version.

⁴ Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 204: "It need only to be said that the method of inking by dabbing the type with ink-balls was especially likely to draw out loose type."

sign. F6, col. b, line 27: "wilful I shalil to þe sacrefise. for it"

This first state is found only in PML 784; in the four other copies here under discussion (PML 722, British Museum, Folger, and Huntington), the text has been emended to read: "wilfulli I shal to þe sacrefise. for it."

Misreading of Copy

Lines 23-25 of signature C2 verso, column b, are found in two varying forms; they read:

(1) "we say as Job sayd / Blessid is þ^t || man that is vnder euermore chas||tysed of our lorde. . . ." (PML 784, British Museum and Huntington)

(2) "we say as Job sayd / Blessid is þ^t || man that is vnderneme chas-||tysed of our lorde. . . ." (PML 722 and Folger)

Here it is probable that the author was misquoting the Bible but it seems equally clear that neither of the readings preserved in the Wynkyn de Worde edition represents the text as found in the printer's copy. The passage from Job which the author appeared to have in mind reads (5, 17):

Beatus homo qui corripitur a Deo.

Increpationem ergo Domini ne reprobes;

In the later Wycliffite version, this text reads:⁵

Blessid is the man which (*or* that) is chastisid of the Lord;
therfor repreue thou not the blamyng of the Lord.

Now *neither* of the two Wynkyn de Worde readings presents a satisfactory text, even making due allowance for the author's misquotation or faulty memory. "Under evermore" makes no sense to me and one must, in this writer's opinion, emend to "unto evermore"⁶ in order to arrive at any intelligible meaning. The other reading is better—but it is both ungrammatical and awkward. "Underneme" is certainly derived from the now obsolete verb "undernim," meaning "to reprove, rebuke," but the form as here printed can only be the infinitive. Wanting the preposition and following an auxiliary verb, however, a past participle is here absolutely required; the closest possible participial form to the word as printed by de Worde would be "undernome." Again it is not common, to say the least, to have one past participle following directly upon another. One may make

⁵ J. Forshall and F. Madden, *The Wycliffite Versions of the Holy Bible* (Oxford, University Press, 1850), II: 679.

⁶ *NED* "evermore," 1b.

so bold, then, as to suggest that the original of the printer's copy read: "Blessed is that man that is undernome (reproved) and chastised of our Lord." If the manuscript used by the printer contained the usual contractions, "undernome and" might have looked something like "vnd-nōz" which—with no too great stretch of the imagination—could be held responsible for "vnder evermore." The second reading of the text as given above is, therefore, the later, a miscorrected version of a misreading. The typographical appearance of the line confirms this belief, since in the first case the line is completely filled and in the second instance the line ends with a space. Clearly the longer word "vnder evermore" was taken out and the space filled with "vndernome" and quads.

It is easy to understand how this "miscorrection" came about. The verb "undernim," as has been stated, is now quite obsolete, but even in the days of Wynkyn de Worde it was at least obsolescent, if it had not disappeared completely. The *New English Dictionary* records one lone instance of the later use of the verb (1502) and furthermore it is there used in a reflexive form and with a quite different meaning. In the sense of "rebuking,"⁷ the last usage recorded by NED is in Reginald Pecock's *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy* of circa 1449. It is likely, then, that the word as it appeared in the original manuscript was not too familiar either to the type-setter or to the corrector, and this probably accounts not only for the original misprint but also for the subsequent miscorrection.

CURT F. BÜHLER

*The Cancel Leaf in Congreve's "Double Dealer," 1694**

The discovery was made some time ago that in most copies of the first edition of William Congreve's *Double Dealer* (1694) leaf G1 was a cancellans.¹ However, it has not been observed that this cancellans leaf exists

⁷ In the sense and construction "reprove of," NED cites an example from *Dives and Pauper* from the de Worde edition of 1496 but dates the text of this work c. 1470. The printer, of course, here followed his copy quite correctly but it should be borne in mind that *Dives and Pauper* is now dated much earlier (1405-1410); it is fortunate that de Worde here printed correctly a word that must have been archaic to him. On the date of *Dives and Pauper*, see *The Library* (London, 1933), Series 4, XIV: 299-312, and *ibid.*, XV: 31-37, the articles being contributed by G. F. Pfander and H. G. Richardson.

* Investigation of the material in this Note was made under grant from the Research Council of the Richmond Area University Center.

¹ Hugh Macdonald, *John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana* (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1939), no. 31, did not mention the

in different states resulting from the simultaneous printing in a full quarto forme of four type-pages containing duplicate typesettings of the recto and verso, so that when the sheet was printed, perfected, and cut apart, four separate cancellans leaves would be obtained. Ordinarily, printing and perfecting from such a forme would provide only two sets of duplicate leaves, and thus two states, each differing from the other both recto and verso in typesetting. But if some occasional sheets were by accident turned about before perfecting, copies would result in which the settings of the conventional rectos and versos would be interchanged, and four variants would be produced.

The figure below will show the arrangement of the type-pages in the single forme used to print and perfect the sheet to produce the cancellans leaves for G1 in *The Double Dealer*. The letters in parentheses refer to the typesettings identified below.

G1 ^r (B)	G1 ^v (Y)
G1 ^v (X)	G1 ^r (A)

We arrive, thus, at two states of cancellans G(G1), one with recto-verso setting AX² and the other with setting BY.³ These are what we should expect for the printed sheet of paper turned end over end, as normally, in perfecting. However, the Lehigh University copy, a splendid copy on special fine paper, exhibits a recto-verso setting of AY. Such a state would result if by accident a sheet, or else possibly the whole heap of fine paper,⁴ had been turned sideways end for end after printing but be-

leaf, and the fact seems first to have been noticed in Dobell's *Catalogue* 55 (1940), item 315, which listed a copy containing both cancellandum and cancellans in that order. This copy, bought by Claremont College, California, was recorded by J. M. Osborn, *Macdonald's Bibliography of Dryden: An Annotated Check List of Selected American Libraries*, in: *Modern Philology*, XXXIX: 76 (1941). A Folger Shakespeare Library copy with the cancellans leaf was subsequently listed as no. 231a (supplement) in Gertrude L. Woodward and J. G. McManaway, *A Check List of English Plays 1641-1700* (Chicago, The Newberry Library, 1945). It may be mentioned that copies with the cancellandum only are not uncommon: I have seen examples in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Pierpont Morgan, Yale, and Princeton, but in each case the cancellandum was torn from the bottom for excision.

² The cancellans in this state is found in copies at the University of Virginia, Library of Congress, University of Cincinnati, and Folger Shakespeare Library.

³ The cancellans in this state is found in copies at Claremont College, Duke University, and Folger Shakespeare Library (2).

⁴ Since the Lehigh volume is the only fine-paper copy I have seen to date, and

fore perfecting; and from such a turned sheet or heap we must necessarily also get copies of a leaf with recto-verso setting of BX, although I have not yet seen one.

In matters of this sort the question of textual authority arises. Setting (A) of cancellans G1 recto—*i.e.*, in formulary terms G(G1')—as in the Lehigh and Congress copies, consists of the identical undistributed typesetting found in cancellandum G1 recto, the sole differences being the correction in the standing type of the misprint “can’t hid” in line 16 to “can’t hit,” and the running together of “outof” in the cancellans type from “out of,” perhaps by a careless repair of loosened type.⁵

Setting (B), as represented in G(G1') of the Claremont cancellans, a completely different typesetting from the corrected standing type of (A), exhibits some few small variants from (A), as follows:

	(A)	(B)
2	outof	out of
4	Foh.	Foh. ———
8	Oyster at	Oysterat
8	ha, ha, ha	ha ha ha.
9	(<i>Afide</i>)	(<i>Afide</i> .)
9	inconfi- derable	inconfide rable
10	People contemptible	People con- temptible
20	Mr	Mr.
27	Ld. F.	Ld. Fr.
33	writing	Writing

The collation of the variants for the original cancellandum setting of G1^v, with the readings of the cancellans settings (X) and (Y), follows:

	(π : original)	(X)	(Y)
2	Lady F.	Lady Fr.	Lady F.
2	now?	now?	now?
4	Lady F.	Lady Fr.	Lady F.
6	Lady F.	Lady Fr.	Lady F.
7	Ld. F.	Lord F.	Ld. F.

since no trade-edition copies have yet come to my notice exhibiting either of the two variants resulting from this turning, it is impossible to state whether this is a casual and perhaps unique variant or whether all fine-paper copies will exhibit one or other of these AY or BX states.

⁵ Although I have not seen an example of it, this error might possibly have resulted from a disturbance in the type during the later pulls of the outer forme of sheet G and thus have become perpetuated as a constant characteristic of the cancellans printing also.

10 Lady F.	Lady Fr.	Lady F.
11 Creature—I	Creature— I	Creature—I
12 you	you	yon
13 <i>Sapho</i> , tho'	<i>Sapho</i> , tho'	<i>Sapho</i> , tho'
15 Ladyfhip.	Ladifhip.	Ladifhip.
18 already;	already?	already;
18-19 My Lord wont you? What	My Lord wont you go? Wont you? What	My Lord wont you go? wont you? What
19 <i>Saph</i> .	<i>Saph</i> ?	<i>Saph</i> .
19 come fee little <i>Saph</i> .	come fee	come fee
26 is not	is not	is not
30 <i>placed</i> ,	<i>plac'd</i>	<i>plac'd</i>

Since the duplicate typesettings were made to hasten the presswork on the cancellans leaf, it is likely that two marked copies of the cancellandum were given to two different compositors; indeed, the nature of the variants strongly suggests that this was the procedure rather than that one compositor composed reset $G(GI^r)$ and the two settings of $G(GI^v)$. If two compositors were employed, we might expect one to make the slight alteration of "hid" to "hit" in the standing type of GI^r and then to compose a re-setting of GI^v while the other began resetting GI^r and continued with the other necessary resetting of GI^v . Although the evidence is slightly conflicting, it would appear that the original compositor of cancellandum GI recto and verso was responsible only for setting (Y) of $G(GI^v)$, whereas a different compositor set both $G(GI^r)$ in (B) and $G(GI^v)$ in (X).⁶

However, whether one or two compositors were employed, either (X) or (Y) under the circumstances could not have been set one from the other, and both must go back independently to a marked copy or copies of cancellandum GI^v as their copy text. Hence there is nothing in the actual circumstances of the production of the cancellans leaf which makes one setting more authoritative in its variant readings than the other in any case in which they disagree. However, correct editorial principles would certainly lead to the selection of settings AY of the cancellans leaf (cor-

⁶ In (B) the treatment of the speech heading in line 27 suggests the compositor of (X), but on the other hand in lines 9-10 he sets a fuller line although his tendency in (X) is to set less letterpress in a line than was present in his copy. On the whole, the comparative freedom with which he treated his copy in contrast to the conservative resetting of (Y) suggests that (B) and (X) were composed by the same workman. There is, of course, no priority through the press of any of the four states of the cancellans leaf unless variants AY and BX are confined to fine-paper copies, in which case the fine-paper is normally last through the press anyway. Arguing for the priority of composition of setting (X) or (Y) would be fruitless and of no significance.

recting the misprints "outof" and "yon"), as in the Lehigh copy, for the copy text.⁷

The fact that the type of G1 recto of the outer forme was available to make up setting (A) of the recto of the cancellans leaf whereas two re-settings proved necessary for G(G1^v) demonstrates effectively that the inner forme of sheet G had machined the white paper and had then been distributed, at least in part, before the cancellans was ordered. Thus the first moment at which Congreve could have ordered the reprinting of the leaf may be placed towards the end of perfecting the sheet with the outer forme, and the normal last available moment during the printing of the white paper of the first forme of sheet H to go on the press, doubtless the inner. However, the time of the discovery that a cancellans would be required need not coincide with the actual machining of the leaf, and undistributed G1^r could have been put aside and the forme made up for the cancellans after the printing of sheet I had been finished. Unfortunately, the running-titles are too alike in appearance and in measurement for positive identification that might have revealed the exact order of printing. On the other hand, the fact that the running-titles used for the cancellans contain the swash *D*'s found only in gatherings E- I suggests that the press which printed this section of the book also printed the cancellans; therefore the machining may perhaps be placed as no later than the conclusion of sheet I.

FREDSON BOWERS

⁷ Montague Summers, editing the play in *The Complete Works of William Congreve* (London, Nonesuch Press, 1923), Vol. II, reprinted from the cancellans in settings AX (see pp. 48-49).

Letter to the Editor

The Editor

PAPERS of the Bibliographical Society of America

Sir:

Mr. Fredson Bowers objects to my article on "The State of the Issue" because he feels that I approach his proposals for defining "issue" as if they had been "designed for detailed application to library card cataloguing, an impractical ideal" which he "did not suggest." He further attributes to me the notion that "descriptive bibliography is only more detailed cataloguing" and "must conform to cataloguing standards" (*B.S.A.* XLII [1948]: 341-343).

Neither of these ideas is suggested or even implied in "The State of the Issue" (*B.S.A.* XLII [1948]: 239-255). The article is devoted largely to evidence showing (1) that Mr. Bowers' definition is derived from McKerrow only quite indirectly (239-242); (2) that his definition would be rather hard for bibliographers to apply (242-250); and (3) that "the advanced bibliographers" whom Mr. Bowers cited with approval do not agree among themselves or with Mr. Bowers as to precisely what an "issue" is (251-252). Only in the last few pages (253-255), after it seems apparent that Mr. Bowers' definition probably is bibliographically unsatisfactory, is the cataloguing view of "issue" introduced. It is advanced then because it seems to conform to the usage of many bibliographers as well as cataloguers and because it can be readily understood by anyone.

"The State of the Issue" is concerned simply with finding a usable definition of a bibliographical term.

PAUL S. DUNKIN

Book Reviews

BRADFORD, SAMUEL CLEMENT. *Documentation*. London, Crosby Lockwood & Son, Ltd., 1948. 5, 156 pp. 8¾ x 5¾ inches. 10s. 6d.

For over forty years I have been trying to find out what "documentation" is. One rising from a perusal of Dr. Bradford's book will not have the answer furnished him. The book lacks coherence; it is not an orderly development of its subject. The fact that the author has put together various articles contributed to periodicals explains—but does not justify—this accusation.

The reviewer has a general notion that an enthusiasm for the Dewey Decimal Classification in its Brussels expansion is required of all enthusiasts for Documentation. The reading of the present book tends to confirm that idea. Moreover, it is as an organ for the classification of knowledge and not necessarily for the classification of books that this book evidently looks on the Decimal Classification. Every page bears testimony to the almost worshipful regard in which the Dewey Classification is held.

There is an introduction by F. Donker-Duyvis, and a Preface. Then follow the chapters. These are successively: The nature, origin, and purpose of documentation, alphabetical subject indexing, the Universal Decimal Classification, the preparation of subject indexes to volumes of periodicals, general abstracting services, the organization of a library service in science and technology, special libraries and special information services, fifty years of documentation, the documentary chaos, a plan for complete scientific documentation, some general principles of a bibliographical classification scheme, for and against the decimal classification.

Probably the strongest part of the book is the showing up of the inadequacy of present-day abstracting services. According to Dr. Bradford the situation is bad indeed. And any reform will be costly.

Almost anyone can draw up a bibliographical scheme costing millions. The author of this little book has his feet on the ground; he is an old hand at budgets and used to estimating costs. And he is not led away by his enthusiasms into impractical schemes. The book deserves to be read, but it will not greatly influence action—at least on this side of the Atlantic.

W. W. BISHOP

WEHMER, CARL. *Mainzer Probedrucke in der Type des sogenannten Astronomischen Kalenders für 1448, ein Beitrag zur Gutenbergforschung*. München, Leibniz Verlag, 1948. 4 leaves, 1-60 pp. 12 plates. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Edition of 500 copies.

With the publication of Wehmer's monograph, it becomes evident that German bibliographers are once again at work on the difficult problems that beset the student of "prototypography." This treatise concerns five fragments apparently first found in an early binding at Cracow; these are obviously "trial-pulls" for an "Astronomical Calendar" (1 leaf), for a 40-line Bible (another leaf), and for a 27-line Donatus (3 leaves). In each case these "pulls" are printed on scrap-paper which originally formed the (manuscript) accounts of a Mainz cloth-dealer in the closing years of the fourteenth century. This is strong circumstantial evidence that all the fragments originated in the same shop (obviously located in Mainz) at about the same time.

In general, Wehmer's account is convincing—to me, at least—and his conclusions (whether one agrees with him or not) are certainly the most interesting deductions on the development of the earliest Mainz press(es) which have appeared in the past quarter-century. It is equally certain that the publication of this work will stir up a hornet's nest in the Zedler-Schwenke camp.

There can be little doubt, I am sure, as to the over-all accuracy of Wehmer's account of the Bible and Donatus fragments. It is true that there are certain incidental deductions necessitated by his assumptions over which there is sure to be eyebrow-raising in some quarters, *e. g.*, that the Donatus fragments are portions of a *galley-proof* (in 1457!!), but the fact that these fragments are evidences of otherwise unknown editions printed in the type of the 36-line Bible is self-evident. The analysis of the physical nature of the fragments proceeds with characteristic German thoroughness—it would seem certain that there is nothing more to be said on that score!

It is, of course, with the remaining "trial-pull" that Wehmer enters upon a controversial field of speculation. For Wehmer, the Wiesbaden *Astronomischer Kalender* is no astronomical calendar at all but an astrological primer. In this belief he has the professional support of Professor Viktor Stegemann and prints the latter's expert investigation of the text. Without going into the astronomical-mathematical details, it is the Wehmer-Stegemann belief that the Wiesbaden fragment is no calendar for 1448 but a rough (very rough, indeed) table for computing the positions

of the planets for a period of thirty years centering around 1448. The fact that the Wiesbaden broadside is printed on vellum is certainly a significant practical argument in favor of this theory, since a calendar intended for a single year would hardly require such durable material as vellum. The necessary corollary for this line of reasoning is, of course, that the Wiesbaden fragment was not necessarily printed in 1447 (as assumed by the Zedler-Schwenke school on the basis of the astronomical details) but could have been produced at any time thereafter. Wehmer is of the opinion that it was printed after the *Türkenbulle* (1457) and before the 36-line Bible was begun (1459). The patent result of this is that for those who accept Wehmer's reconstruction the history of early Mainz printing must necessarily be entirely rewritten.

There is one point, however, where I would disagree sharply with Wehmer. He sees the Cracow fragment as a trial-pull for the Wiesbaden "calendar." To my way of thinking it is no such thing but a trial-pull for quite another (otherwise unknown) edition. There are entirely too many typographical differences between the two fragments to make one believe that they have any direct connection. Wehmer suggests that the printer deleted pointed *a* in favor of round *a* no fewer than eighteen times in a single sheet! In but one line of 43 characters, ten are totally different in the two fragments. Again in the parallel sections for the February text, the line-endings do not agree throughout, while in the January text the line-arrangements are entirely different in the two examples. Surely the Wiesbaden text is printed from an entirely different setting of type than that represented by the Cracow fragment.

Whatever may be one's position as to Wehmer's new theory, it will certainly command the respectful attention of all incunabulists. It is equally heartening to learn that scholarly work of such stature can once again make its appearance in Gutenberg's own country.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Vatican Library: Rules for the Catalog of Printed Books. Translated from the second Italian edition by Thomas J. Shanahan, Victor A. Schaefer, and Constantin T. Vesselowsky. Edited by Wyllis E. Wright. Chicago, American Library Association, 1948. xii, 426 pp. 11 x 8½ inches. \$18.00.

A cataloguing code is of no small interest to the student of descriptive bibliography because today's large union catalogues contain cards from

libraries all over the world describing copies of rare books. But only if those cards describe books uniformly and adequately will they serve the bibliographer satisfactorily.

The Anglo-American code of 1908 and the Library of Congress printed cards have been powerful forces for uniformity in cataloguing both in this country and abroad.

In the late twenties the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace offered to help reorganize Vatican Library cataloguing procedures by sending a commission of American librarians and by training a number of Vatican staff members in America. The commission consisted of W. W. Bishop, J. C. M. Hanson, Charles Martel, M. E. Lord, W. M. Randall, and the Norwegian John Ansteinsson; and they were later assisted by Vatican Library staff members who had returned from America: Msgr. Enrico Benedetti, Msgr. Carmel Scalia, Igino Giordani, and Gerardo Bruni. Thus the Vatican code was drawn up with the "unexpected result that for many years the most complete statement of American cataloguing practice was available only in the Italian language," to quote W. E. Wright's "Foreword" to the translation. But a revised edition of the Anglo-American code is now under way, and the Vatican code itself has meanwhile gone through a revised edition. So it has been possible to allow the translators simply to state the cataloguing practice of a large European library without trying to adapt it to current American procedure. As such the translated code makes a distinct contribution to internationally uniform cataloguing.

In the forty years since the Anglo-American Code was first published catalogue cards have indeed become increasingly more uniform, but adequate description is another story.

Description of any book should fit the need which that book will serve. The ordinary book is used because of its content; on the catalogue card for such a book only a very brief title and a statement of the total number of pages are generally enough—witness the bookseller's catalogue which tries to *sell* books, not merely lend them. But the rare book is wanted and used primarily as a material object, an historical document. Its content is secondary because a reprint or microfilm can give that. Only detailed transcription of its title and careful collation of its gatherings as well as a detailed pagination statement will set it off as a physical entity from all other editions, issues, and copies.

This distinction did not get into the 1908 code nor Library of Congress practice. Instead, both endorsed a description much more detailed than ordinary books need, but much less detailed than rare books need. (At

the same time the principle seems to have been vaguely recognized in the curious inconsistency that both require intricate pagination for books of one volume only, but for larger works nothing more than the number of volumes—*i.e.*, a general idea of length such as the total number of pages would supply for a one-volume work.) Unfortunately the drive toward simplified cataloguing in the forties has also ignored this fundamental distinction.

The Vatican code, while holding to an unnecessarily detailed title and pagination for ordinary books, does provide in Appendix I for adequate description of incunabula and books printed in the first half of the sixteenth century. It is to be hoped that eventually cataloguers will give similar treatment to rare books of all ages.

Also interesting to bibliographical students is Appendix III: "Glossary of Bibliographical Terms in Italian, English, French, German, and Spanish." Unfortunately the translation retains the Italian column first so that it is necessary to consult the index if the user knows only the English form of the word he seeks.

The section on subject headings includes an adaptation to English needs as well as the translation, because there is no English code on subject headings. Also there is a new index to the translated rules.

The book is planographed; a rather attractive piece of work. But it is unfortunate that the price is so high.

PAUL S. DUNKIN

British Sources of Reference and Information; a Guide to Societies, Works of Reference, and Libraries. Compiled under the Direction of a Committee of ASLIB and Edited by Theodore Besterman. London, Published for the British Council by ASLIB, 1947. 4 p.l., 56 pp.

Theodore Besterman, the Editor of this handbook and guide on reference libraries in the British Isles, is no stranger to American librarians. He is known in this country for his many speaking engagements on bibliographical topics; and he is internationally known for his many publications in bibliography, foremost among which are his *A World Bibliography of Bibliographies* (1939-1940), *The Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography* (1935), and *Early Printed Books to the End of the Sixteenth Century* (1940). As Chairman of a sub-committee of the ASLIB Publications and Editorial Committee he became Editor of the above reference manual. Other members of his committee were Miss E. M. R. Ditmas, Mr. B. Fullman, Mr. H. Jones, Miss A. M. Mostel, and Mr. G. Woledge.

"The object of this little guide is to make better known the incomparable wealth of books in British libraries—and above all the information contained in these books." Even a cursory examination of this book must impress the reader with the comprehensive resources of British libraries.

This manual, divided into eight sections or parts, is largely a survey of the British library system as a whole, showing its functioning through the National Central Library and its regional libraries. It is also a guide to British librarians in the holdings of their libraries. Under each library is given the number of volumes, number of periodicals received, and special collections held. Subject analyses of the latter are given in the index.

The first two sections are probably the most interesting to American librarians. The first of these is an excellent summarizing presentation of the National Central Library and its place in the British library system. As this has been amply dealt with on numerous occasions, we shall here list only a few items of outstanding interest. First of all, this is the only library in the British Isles with a Library of Congress depository catalogue on cards. Secondly, most of it was destroyed by enemy action in 1941 and consequently its present collection is down to 83,000 volumes. Thirdly, as a consequence of its work, the library holdings and services in the British Isles are now so complete that the system lends twice as many volumes as it borrows on international inter-library loans. In other words, the British Isles are approaching the ideal of self-sufficiency as far as library research resources are concerned, this despite the fact that they have few libraries of more than 1,000,000 volumes. This is certainly proof of the "incomparable wealth of books in British libraries."

The second section covers library and book organizations. Included are accounts of the Library Association, ASLIB, the National Book League, and the British Society for International Bibliography. One looks in vain for the Bibliographical Society with its distinguished record. Also it would seem to us that a word about the coöperative Book Centre Limited, London, might have been of value even to British librarians.

Section three takes up the copyright libraries, namely the British Museum, the Bodleian, Cambridge University Library, the National Library of Scotland, and the National Library of Wales.

The remainder of the volume is mainly a listing of other libraries, without comment, and covers university libraries, the principal public libraries, selected special libraries, and selected government libraries. Their holdings are noted; also types of services offered. Losses and damages incurred by enemy action are given brief notation.

At the end is a short list of subject reference books strictly limited to the British Isles and so brief as to be of slight value to foreigners.

This is an excellent guide to the "incomparable wealth of books in British libraries" and is deserving of high commendation.

EMORY C. SKARSHAUG

CARTER, JOHN. *Taste and Technique in Book-Collecting; a Study of Recent Developments in Great Britain and the United States*. New York, R. R. Bowker Company, 1948. xxiii, 203 pp. 8½ x 5¾ inches. \$5.00. (Cambridge, England, University. Sandars Lectures in Bibliography. 1947.)

To the late Ronald B. McKerrow's *Introduction to Bibliography*, John Carter offers the homage "that classic." The same praise, I think, is equally applicable to Mr. Carter's *Taste and Technique in Book-Collecting*, even though it is hardly old enough to take on the trappings of a classic. The latter book, like McKerrow's, is a pioneer work—and a great one.

Criticism of a work of this calibre is unrewarding, I find, for the critic can be merely a sniper pointing at such minute errors as *The Proceedings of the Bibliographical Society of America* for *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* (p. 102). Similarly, it would be easy to ring changes on the excellence of the ideas considered and discussed in the book. The fact is very simple that no book collector, amateur or adept, should be without a copy of Mr. Carter's book. It ought to receive a larger audience than it will have in the United States, for beneath the author's irritatingly supercilious style there is a thinking mind on exhibition.

That the author is familiar with much of the literature of his subject is apparent. He has used it skilfully and to the advantage of the reader. English references predominate, as should be natural. The absence of certain American names in the index is a little discouraging, particularly in view of Mr. Carter's warning (p. 107) that he mentions only books he respects. This statement carries the implication that the author does *not* respect the unmentioned books. Possibly it is unfamiliarity rather than disrespect which has caused the omissions.

Mr. Carter's readers in this country must remember that the lectures were delivered before British audiences. While his acquaintance with collecting in America is wider than that of most of his countrymen, the author's comments are most applicable to British collectors. This is probably the reason for the only serious flaw I can mention—a lack of stress on

the danger to rare book collecting inherent in the disappearance of the "standard rarities" into institutional libraries. The matter appears to be of less immediate importance in Great Britain than in the United States. Allied to this movement of rarities into American libraries is an increasing intimacy between collectors and libraries. I think Mr. Carter has underestimated the strength of the movements.

The R. R. Bowker Company is to be congratulated for its decision to make Mr. Carter's volume available to American audiences. Perhaps it will be rewarded for its faith in collectors by the wide sales which the book deserves.

COLTON STORM

Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII. století. Vydala Komise pro knihopisný soupis českých a slovenských tisků až do konce XVIII. století. Redigoval dr. Zdeněk Tobolka. V Praze, Státní tiskárna v Praze, 1925-. Part I, Incunabula, 1925, text, 47 pp., 13 x 9 in.; album, 12 facsim., 17½ x 12 in.—Part II, 1501-1800: vol. 1, letter A, 1939, 359 pp. (in fascicules, 1936-1939); vol. 2, letters B-Č, 1942, 438 pp. (in fascicules, 1941-1942); vol. 3, letters D-J, 1946, 511 pp. (in fascicules 1945?-1946); vol. 4, fascicule 1, Ka-Kop, 1947, pp. 1-160. 13 x 9 in.

The part of the retrospective Czechoslovak national bibliography through the year 1800, which appeared at the end of the year 1947, marks approximately the halfway mark in the work. Manuscript for the remainder of the work is said to be ready for the press.

In December, 1923, the Czechoslovak Ministry of Schools and Education in commemoration of the one hundred fiftieth birthday of Josef Jungmann appointed a Commission for the Bibliographical Description of Czechoslovak Imprints to the End of the Eighteenth Century. Jungmann was the author of the great systematic work about Czechoslovak literary production from the earliest times to his day entitled *Historie literatury české*, the first edition of which was published in 1825 and the second in 1849-1851 after his death in 1847. Dr. Zdeněk Tobolka, the well-known librarian and bibliographer, was chosen as chairman of the Komise pro knihopisný soupis českých a slovenských tisků až do konce XVIII. století, consisting of the directors of eight larger libraries in Czechoslovakia. Among other things, Tobolka had edited a series of at least ten facsimile reprints of famous early Czech imprints from 1926 through 1931 under the designation *Monumenta Bohemiae typographica*.

Scientific rules for the description of older printed books were prepared by Tobolka himself in published form, and applied in the *Knihopis*. For each individual item is given (1) the transcription of the title in full with the size and pagination, (2) special features of the text such as dedications, prefaces, appendices, etc., (3) typographical features, (4) references to literature and bibliographical notes, (5) location of copies, and (6) a biographical statement for each author.

The first part of the *Knihopis* published in 1925 with the title *Knihopis českoslovenkých tisků* describes 31 incunabula, the text part of 47 pages being accompanied by an album of twelve facsimile plates. Publication of the second part devoted to the period 1501-1800, in one alphabetical arrangement, did not begin until 1936. Numbering of the items is continuous with the first part for convenience of citation. The plan of description of the individual items in the second part seems to be identical with that followed in the first part. A considerable number of facsimiles of rare and unusual typographical features are included in the text of the second part. Location is given not only for copies in libraries of Czechoslovakia, but in unusual instances for copies in certain large libraries in Europe and in the United States. Out of the total of 4,314 items included through the letters Kop for the period 1501-1801, there still remain a few works for which no copies have been located, and for which the entry is based on an earlier citation rather than on actual description of a copy. Composition and arrangement of bibliographical descriptions have been handled extremely well by the State Printing Office at Prague in a dignified format not too large for handy use. A few pages explanatory of the work in French or English would do much to encourage its use among those interested but not too well versed in the Czech language.

The *Knihopis* represents an extraordinary achievement in national bibliography, and as it proceeds towards completion may arouse in other countries a consciousness of the national importance of similar effort.

JAMES B. CHILDS

TEDLOCK, ERNEST WARNOCK, JR. *The Frieda Lawrence Collection of D. H. Lawrence Manuscripts: A Descriptive Bibliography*. By E. W. Tedlock, Jr. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1948. xxxix, 333 pp. Facsimiles. 9 x 6 inches. \$3.50.

PARKER, ALAN. *James Joyce: A Bibliography of his Writings, Critical Material, and Miscellanea*. Boston, The F. W. Faxon Company, 1948. [vi], 260 pp. Photo off-set. 9 x 6 inches. \$4.00. (Useful Reference Series, no. 76.)

Here is a detailed physical description of 202 D. H. Lawrence manuscripts, 193 of them preserved by Mrs. Lawrence in Taos, New Mexico, histories of the texts and publication, and some comparison of the texts and the printed form of the books. In addition, Professor E. W. Tedlock, Jr., of the University of New Mexico, summarizes and quotes from several unpublished MSS, and includes a complete transcription of extended diary notes D. H. L. kept in 1920-1924 (pp. 87-99). Frieda Lawrence contributes a brief foreword concerning her pleasure at seeing Lawrence beginning "to come into his own here in America," and Mr. Tedlock has a 15-page introductory essay and a 38-page comparison of "The Three Versions of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*." The value of the latter is to point up the desirability of publishing the unprinted second version, a suggestion made more than eleven years ago by Aldous Huxley. Another contribution is Mr. Tedlock's evidence (pp. 33-37) that the "Odour of Chrysanthemums" MS is not in Lawrence's early hand, as Dr. Lawrence Clark Powell stated in 1937; and "See Mexico After, by Luis Q" is indicated (p. 190) as being something more than an essay which D. H. L. corrected: it is probably authentic Lawrence.

The present bibliography—the third covering the same collection—is far more complete than the work of D. J. and H. K. Wells in 1937 and that of Dr. Powell in the same year. Mr. Tedlock's success is all the more remarkable in that this is his first excursion into bibliography, his first traffic with D. H. Lawrence, indeed his initial piece of published scholarly research. Unfortunately he does betray some failings—most of them minor.

Had he more experience in bibliography, he might have numbered the various items, for easy reference; had he known Lawrence data better, he might have properly referred to E. T. by her real name (Jessie Chambers) and not have called H. C. (Helen Corke) "he" (p. 9); had he more background in scholarship, he might have gone one step further in investi-

gating the "Odour of Chrysanthemums" MS. Instead of stopping with the late Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum's opinion of this handwriting, Mr. Tedlock could very easily have compared the script of the MS with that of a known specimen by Jessie Chambers, who undoubtedly wrote out the "Chrysanthemums" manuscript.

Professor Tedlock told me that he attempted to make each entry complete in itself, although, in doing so, he has caused the book to seem quite tedious to a reader going through large sections of it at a sitting. For example, Miss Nancy Pearn is mentioned 13 times, but 12 times she is identified as "in the office of Curtis Brown [Lawrence's] English agent." This identification is carried to absurdity when she is mentioned (pp. 235-236) in both the bibliographical description and Mr. Tedlock's note immediately following. Inasmuch as the book will probably be used mainly by Lawrence specialists, why is so much repetition necessary? Space was one of the compiler's problems, yet a good deal of it was wasted in such explanation. Likewise, Ford Madox Ford is called by his original name, Hueffer, the first four times he is mentioned; then (on p. 35) appears: "Ford Madox Hueffer (Ford Madox Ford)." There is also a certain amount of careless phrasing which might have been avoided by closer editing. And in an eight-line fragment (pp. 260-261), would it not have been better to reprint the entire item than to take eleven lines to describe it?

The MSS of *Sons and Lovers*, *Women in Love*, and *The Plumed Serpent*, three of Lawrence's most important works, are barely mentioned and are missing from the collection. Where are they? And what has happened to 34 items which Dr. Powell cataloged in 1937 and which are no longer in Frieda's group? (Incidentally, Dr. Powell listed but 118 items.)

Less significant slips: Catherine Carswell is incorrectly called "Miss" twice (p. 25), Mrs. Carswell elsewhere; footnote references (pp. 143, 196) to Frieda's *Not I, But the Wind* . . . are to the Santa Fe edition rather than to the more widely used Viking Press edition (New York, 1934); there are omissions in the index (to mention one of many, E. T., pp. 33, 35)—and the introductory and appendix sections are not indexed at all; and "Notts" (p. 10) is not a place but an abbreviation for Nottinghamshire.

However, Professor Tedlock's bibliography as a whole is an extremely valuable contribution to D. H. Lawrence scholarship for the completeness of its description of the MSS, for the first printing of the 1920-1924 diary, for the inclusion of the various fragments, and for the interesting closing essay on the three versions of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. If the present

work leads to the printing of the second version of Lawrence's masterpiece, it will have achieved a worthy purpose.

Eight years ago Professor Harry Levin wrote in *James Joyce: A Critical Introduction* (Norfolk, Connecticut, New Directions, 1941, p. 225): "A detailed and comprehensive bibliography is much needed, and there is reason to hope that the need will soon be fulfilled." Alan Parker's new bibliography of Joyce is the first attempt to fill that need. Unfortunately it is less than successful.

In collating 38 Joyce items and giving histories of the various MSS, and in listing more than 600 articles, reviews, and books, Mr. Parker has made a valuable contribution for which scholars are in his debt. He also cites such items as manuscript reproductions, portraits, recordings and musical adaptations, illustrations for Joyce's works, and poems in tribute. Such deserving labor—of love, no doubt—almost makes it seem churlish to point out the volume's deficiencies. Yet deficiencies it certainly has.

The chief faults are numerous omissions and inaccuracies; its considerable carelessness is more irritating than important. For example, in typing (for the pages have been "printed" direct from the typed page) and printing: section pages, which should appear on the right-hand side, often turn up on the left, the running title appears where it shouldn't, and there are many strikeovers and penned-in corrections. Several items merely listed or referred to should have been collated; some which ought to be collated are not listed at all; and one cannot excuse more than 150 missing critical articles from periodicals and 40 chapters from books with Mr. Parker's plea of "the best intent . . . but one finds that he must call a halt at last." Having left out some criticism by Ernest Bernbaum, Ernest Boyd, Frank Budgen, Padraic Colum, Ford Madox Ford, Stuart Gilbert, Stanislaus Joyce, Harry Levin, Stephen Spender, and L. A. G. Strong, among many others, Mr. Parker apparently called the halt too soon.

There is no index, a serious omission; but in the table of contents (p. 2) is the word: INDEX. Joyce's first appearance in any book—poems XII and XXVI of *Chamber Music* as *Two Songs* in *The Venture: An Annual of Art and Literature* (London, John Baillie, 1905, p. 92)—is completely neglected. Three other books which should be collated (they are listed among critical material) are T. S. Eliot's *Introducing James Joyce*, Harry Levin's *Portable James Joyce*, and Herbert Gorman's *James Joyce*. The first two are primarily volumes of Joyce selections, whereas the last—which has the date incorrectly given as 1940 instead of 1939—contains numerous

"unpublished squibs, verses and satires that Joyce composed," and many letters. Noting the omission in Section I of several editions of *Dubliners*, *Chamber Music*, and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, one wonders what was Mr. Parker's criterion for his remark that collations and descriptions were included "of all first editions and of subsequent editions when available and of special interest."

Cross references are very inadequate: one often doesn't know whether a book article is a periodical reprint, a new study, or an answer to a previous criticism. Books listed as containing Joyce data often have chapter titles and page numbers missing, the author's name incomplete or incorrect. Primary studies are starred; however, of two so marked, Günther Kulemeyer's *Studien zur Psychologie im neuen englischen Roman* and Frank Budgen's *James Joyce and the Making of "Ulysses,"* one would be quite interested to know that the former has 40 pages and the latter 325.

Other minor errors include: the failure to distinguish between "publish" and "print" (of some importance in a bibliography); misuse of capitals in titles of German and French books; omission of a Spanish translation of *Exiles* (Buenos Aires, 1937), and of a Portuguese translation of the *Portrait* (Porto Alegre, 1945); no mention of prices of original editions; neglect to cite two chapters from *Dubliners* in *The Smart Set* (May 1915) before the book was published in this country; and mistitling Richard M. Kain's *Fabulous Voyager*.

Finally, there is this strange sentence on p. 35: "Spoerri lists February 1917 as the publication date [of the *Portrait*]." No other reference whatever is made to Spoerri by Mr. Parker. If he has in mind James Fuller Spoerri's *Catalog of a Collection of The Works of James Joyce*, exhibited at the Newberry Library, March 1-26, 1948, and published February 1948, why has he not made better use of Mr. Spoerri's 69-page pamphlet? Mr. Parker might thus have avoided several pitfalls.

Imperfect as it is, the Parker bibliography of Joyce will do service to collectors and students of the Irish author until the appearance of the work in preparation by John Slocum, R. F. Roberts, and Herman Cahoun. This, we may hope, will be a fuller bibliography and will supplement Mr. Parker (to use his own phrase) in casting "new light on the development of Joyce's extraordinary genius."

WILLIAM WHITE

TURNBULL, LAURA SHEARER. *Woodrow Wilson Bibliography. A Selected Bibliography of his Published Writings, Addresses and Public Papers*. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1948. viii, 173 pp. 5¼ x 8 inches. \$2.00.

The eleven hundred titles in Miss Turnbull's new bibliography of Woodrow Wilson represent the first collection of the sort complete in one volume, though of course the numerous works dealing with the War President's career contain a good deal of scattered material of the same sort. It is partially based on the bibliography which the late Howard Seavoy Leach contributed to the Baker and Dodd edition of Wilson's *Public Papers*, though it has naturally been expanded and improved.

The new bibliography is (theoretically) divided into three sections: a list of Wilson's own books, a list of his collected works, and a list of his addresses, periodical writings, letters, and public papers. Actually there are five divisions, for Miss Turnbull's three sections are followed by a fourth section, listing newspaper publication of speeches, statements, and papers between 1910 and 1912, an important period when Wilson was developing into Presidential timber; and a fifth section on books about (not by) Woodrow Wilson. These are by Arthur S. Link and Katherine E. Brand.

Miss Brand's list naturally had to be restricted, since books in what Miss Brand calls "the Woodrow Wilson field" include practically everything on World War I and the Paris Peace Conference. She therefore limits her bibliography by excluding foreign books and periodical articles. No doubt this limits the value of her work also, but it does keep it within a reasonable space, and it has the further advantage of concentrating the researcher's first efforts on material fairly certain to be available. A few reprinted articles in pamphlet form—which can, in a pinch, be described as "books"—have been included. Though the list totals only one hundred entries in all, it is well selected.

The new bibliography has obvious value to writers on World War I and its aftermath, also to students of American politics and history during Wilson's period—which is not the same thing as Wilson's administration. It is a pity that a similar list has not been made for Roosevelt's administration before and during World War II. Undoubtedly it would be premature, but it would be useful. In fact, it would be well worth the time and effort to undertake something of this sort for each American administration.

JOHN BAKELESS

ROCHEDIEU, CHARLES ALFRED EMMANUEL. *Bibliography of French Translations of English Works, 1700-1800*. With an Introduction by Donald F. Bond. Chicago, University of Chicago Press [c1948]. xiii, 387 pp. 9¼ x 6 inches. \$5.00.

Any bibliography which facilitates research in the history of ideas and comparative literature is worthy of publication. Professor Rochedieu has made a valuable contribution to the study of Anglo-French relations.

Professor Bond, in his Introduction, enumerates the more important forces responsible for the rapidly increasing interest in English literature on the part of the French public during the eighteenth century. Voltaire was among the first to impress his fellow-countrymen by his enthusiasm for the philosophy and literature of England after his sojourn there from 1726 to 1729. Many other French travelers, including Montesquieu, Rousseau, Buffon, and the Abbé Prévost, returned from England eager to make use of their first-hand information on English life and thought. However, according to Professor Bond, various eighteenth-century periodicals, such as the *Journal des savants*, the *Mercure de France*, *Le Pour et Contre*, and the *Année littéraire*, were particularly valuable in the diffusion of English thought, for reviews of English books and their translations appeared with increasing frequency as the years passed. The early French translators of English works, who tended to adapt freely rather than to translate accurately, often gave French readers an erroneous impression of the original texts. Nevertheless, they were useful in the greater dissemination of English ideas. Professor Bond emphasizes the fact that much research remains to be done on Anglo-French intellectual relations in the eighteenth century, although many valuable contributions have already been made, especially in the study of individual authors.

The present bibliography is truly a very useful work. The material has been gathered not only from well-known library catalogues, but from sales catalogues, scholarly studies on the period and various authors, and eighteenth-century handbills and periodicals. The compiler has listed each item twice, under the name of the English author and under the title of the French translation, for frequently there is little similarity between the French and English titles. Material appearing in periodicals has been omitted. Three appendices have been added to the main list of authors and titles: I. Anonymous works translated into French; II. Translations of unidentified works; III. Collections of works translated from the English. Monsieur Rochedieu has increased the usefulness of his work by add-

ing a classified index in which he has listed the items by author or appendix number under the following topics:

Arts: General, Fine Arts (Architecture, Engraving and prints, Painting, Rhetoric), Industrial Arts.

History: Antiquities, General, Modern history (subdivided by country and continent).

Literature: Criticism, Biographies, Drama, Essays, Fiction, Language, Memoirs, Poetry, Miscellaneous.

Sciences: Agriculture and gardening, Economics, Education, Mathematics and physics, Medicine, Natural sciences, Navigation, Political science, Social science, Miscellany (Archaeology, History of printing, History of science, Horsemanship and farriery, Linguistics, Mineralogy, Stenography, Whist).

Philosophy and religion: Philosophy, Religion and ethics.

Travel: General, Circumnavigation, Africa, Asia, Western Europe, Southeastern Europe and Near East, Northeastern Europe, North America and West Indies, South America.

Books relating to the United States.

The most extensive principal headings are literature and sciences, while among the subdivisions, the section devoted to Great Britain under Modern History, fiction under Literature, medicine under Sciences, religion and ethics under Philosophy and Religion, Western Europe under Travel, contain the greatest number of items. In contrast, the topics under Science Miscellany include only one or two items each. The diversity of the subject matter set forth in the index topics should convince a prospective user of this bibliography that it is of value not only to the student of literature but to all who profess an interest in social and intellectual history. The authors listed present similar diversity, for they include besides the usual more or less famous English men and women of letters, such names as Thomas Chippendale, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, Joseph Priestley, Jeremy Bentham, William Bartram, Robert Fulton, John Toland, and George Vancouver, to name only a few who acquired fame outside the realm of pure literature.

After considering the many qualities of this ample bibliography, it may seem ungracious to mention two important ways in which its usefulness is restricted. First of all, the title is ambiguous. After careful perusal, one finds that a number of the authors antedate 1700, as for example, Francis Bacon, John Bunyan, John Milton, Thomas More, and Shakespeare, although the listed translations of their individual or collected works did appear in the eighteenth century. Perhaps a greater handicap for the seeker

after detailed information is the fact that M. Rochedieu does not give the location of any of the titles, although occasionally he refers to one of the well-known bibliographical works which he lists under Abbreviations, when authorship and publication dates are controversial. There is not the slightest doubt in this reviewer's mind concerning the thoroughness of M. Rochedieu's labor of love, but its value would be greatly increased if the compiler had given even one location for each title which he actually examined, and a catalogue reference for as many others as possible.

Despite these shortcomings and others which may appear to those who use this bibliography in the future, perusal of Professor Rochedieu's impressive work leads us to say with Amy Lowell:

For books are more than books, they are life
The very heart and core of ages past,
The reason why men lived and worked and died,
The essence and quintessence of their lives.

MARY-MARGARET H. BARR